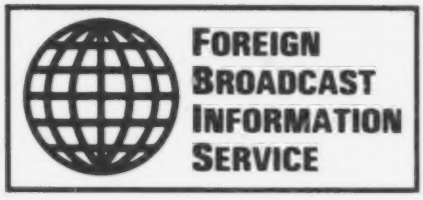

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Removal of Missile Complex Begins in Ukraine

LD0808160388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Kiev, 8 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Viktor Mazanyy writes:

The elimination of launching installations and transporters for the delivery and transshipment of the missiles dubbed SS-20's in the West began today at a base near the town of Sarny in Rovno Oblast (western Ukraine). Taking part in the operation are inspectors who have arrived here from the United States. It is to be recalled that, in accordance with the treaty, not only the missiles themselves are being eliminated but also the launching installations.

The U.S. specialists acquainted themselves with the 18 launching installations which are to be destroyed this August. Here they became convinced that this was precisely the technology that is the subject of the INF Treaty.

The occasion of the elimination of the first launching installation was registered in protocols exchanged by the Soviet and U.S. servicemen. There were, of course, sincere handshakes. The experts from the two countries stood face to face not as rivals, but as partners.

"I have been putting the No 10 intermediate-range missile complex on alert duty right from the start," said Soviet Colonel Yevgeniy Kozlov, one of the dismantlement managers. "We are parting with it today without regret. It is evidence of changes for the better."

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Terry Cornail, leader of the U.S. group, noted that this was the eighth Soviet base he had visited. "Now that we are faced with a single goal—implementation of the treaty—I am sure that our work will be accompanied by total mutual understanding. This is the basis of success," he said.

Soviet Missile Inspectors Arrive in Belgium

LD0808193788 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Brussels August 8 TASS—Two teams of Soviet inspectors arrived in Brussels by Aeroflot TU-134 plane to conduct checks at American military bases in Belgium, in compliance with the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

The checks will be held at the U.S. base in Florennes, where 20 cruise missiles and 12 launchers have been stationed as of June 1 this year, and at the European centre for servicing American cruise missiles in the town of Gosselies, which has 55 cruise missiles.

The Soviet teams were welcomed at the airport by William Nartus, a counsellor of the Belgium Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Belgium will do everything possible to help the Soviet inspectors and American officials accompanying them accomplish their tasks. This will be our contribution to strengthening stability of East-West relations, especially in Europe. The INF Treaty, signed by the USSR and USA, is also our treaty, William Nartus said. It marks an important stage and gives hope for a considerable progress at the disarmament talks as well.

Begin Inspections

LD0908100088 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Brussels August 9 TASS—The two teams of Soviet inspectors, who arrived in Brussels on Monday evening, left in the morning today for the U.S. Air Force base in Florennes and the European centre for the technical servicing of cruise missiles in the city of Gosselies, official spokesmen for the U.S. and Belgian Armed Forces said today.

Twenty Soviet military experts, who broke into two groups, started inspecting these facilities in which a total of 75 cruise missiles and 12 launchers are deployed or stored, according to the state of things for June 1 this year.

The inspections are being held on the basis of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles.

[Passage indistinct] told newsmen that inspections would be carried out in strict conformity with the demands of the INF Treaty. On its part plenipoteniary representatives of the U.S. Armed Forces in Belgium and the Belgian Government assured the Soviet representatives that they would get every possible assistance in implementing the task set to them.

The current Soviet inspection is the first in the U.S. missile facilities in Belgium. The Soviet experts are expected to spend in Florennes and in Gosselies—at least 24 hours and at most—32 hours.

'Dangerous Tendencies' Seen in U.S. Arms Policy

LD0808122388 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] A group of Soviet military experts has arrived in Belgium to carry out inspections at the United States air base in Florennes, where American cruise missiles are deployed. Such on-site inspections are envisaged by the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed between the Soviet Union and the United States. Soviet experts have already paid visits to the United States proper and also to its bases in West Germany, Britain, Holland, and Italy. American experts

in turn have carried out inspections in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and Czechoslovakia. Yuriy Solton elaborates, and this is what he writes:

The treaty works, and this is a very rejoicing fact. The first batch of nuclear missiles covered by the treaty commitments was destroyed in the Soviet Union a week ago. The pointer of the international barometer has started moving towards the sign clear, but it would be wrong, I think, to be too hopeful about this. Only a small part of the nuclear arsenals is being destroyed so far, though it is sufficient enough to wipe out civilization on earth.

Further steps are required in the direction of disarmament, and the sooner the better, but we observe dangerous tendencies in relation to this. Much concern is posed by the delay with the preparation of a treaty on the 50-percent cut down in strategic offensive weapons. The Soviet and the American leaders have agreed upon its precise parameters. The American delegation at the talks, however, is obviously wishing to protract the talks until the end of the presidential elections in the United States due to some other reason, or keeps putting artificial obstacles in the way of the delegation's work.

The continuing praising by NATO politicians of nuclear weapons as a deterrent means also poses much concern. In reality, for the past 40 years the arms buildup has been not the theoretical but the material confirmation of the fact that nuclear weapons have never performed the deterrent functions.

There is one more thing I would like to stress. The American Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci paid a visit to the Soviet Union recently. He stated at one point that such visits help ease tension. He said the sides begin to understand one another much better, but the moment the minister left the Soviet Union's boundaries his statements acquired a different tone. While in Ankara, he called for building up NATO's military might and intimidated American allies once again with the existence of what he called as the Soviet military threat.

The tone of President Reagan's latest statement is similar. After vetoing a bill on the military budget approved by the Congress where spending is cut down on the SDI program, the President claimed agreements on disarmament could only be reached with the help of force.

How shall we qualify all this? As a tribute to American hawks who give a hostile treatment to any attempt at easing military tension, or as a departure of the current American administration from the realistic trend in the field of disarmament that had been displayed during the top-level meetings of the two sides?

Yazov Replies to UK's Younger on Nuclear Arms

LD0908063388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0455 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Aug (TASS)—The West simply cannot free itself of the myth of nuclear weapons as a guarantor of peace. This "guarantor," however, has the capability to destroy all living things on earth, stated Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, polemicizing with UK Defense Secretary George Younger, who has given an interview to the London correspondent of the newspaper TRUD. It was published today, along with the Soviet minister's viewpoint on this score.

I do not believe in a greater security for Europe without nuclear weapons, said the British defense minister. For us in Western Europe, and also for our North American allies, the grim reality lies in the fact that our conventional forces in Europe (including the forces of France and Spain) are confronted by Warsaw Treaty forces which considerably outnumber them.

We do not consider the elimination of all nuclear weapons in Europe desirable. Nuclear weapons make a unique contribution to the preservation of peace, noted George Younger.

"Nuclear deterrance" does not allow us to seek a solution to the nuclear problem, stressed Dmitriy Yazov. It encourages the arms race, leads to the further accumulation of lethal weapons, upsets the military balance, and increases the risk of nuclear war breaking out.

Much is made in the West of the so-called superiority of the Warsaw Treaty organization in conventional weapons, which supposedly makes it necessary to retain nuclear weapons. Statements such as these do not stand up to criticism, said the Soviet defense minister. NATO experts try to underline the Warsaw Treaty organization's superiority in individual elements of infantry troops' conventional weapons. But they do not consent to an in-depth, bilateral analysis of the realistic opportunities of the sides' armed forces, or to an examination of the military potentials in general by way of comparison. They refuse to take account of the navies and air forces. This NATO policy is aimed at weakening the USSR and at maintaining the strongest components of the navies and air forces of the United States and NATO.

A nonnuclear safeguard on security, writes Dmitriy Yazov, "is possible on the basis of reasonable sufficiency, in which we include not just a certain level of armaments, but also a certain state of mind, a psychological and political mood in favor of the smallest possible number of weapons—a number sufficient for defense, but in no way sufficient for attack."

'Military Expert' on INF Treaty, NATO

LD0808134888 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—The Soviet Union consistently advocates the third nuclear zero for Europe and it is good that this idea gains momentum among European politicians, General Geliy Batenin, a military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, said in an interview with TASS diplomatic correspondent.

Commenting on the statement by Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the West German Bundestag, who opposed the modernization of U.S. short-range nuclear missiles deployed in West German territory, the Soviet expert emphasized that these missiles are the basis of the NATO nuclear deterrence strategy.

"They are an important component of the NATO nuclear forces and it is regrettable that the intentions voiced in the United States on the need for their modernization are heard exactly now that the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty went under way", he noted. General Batenin stressed that under present circumstances the modernization of short-range nuclear missiles "would signal a step toward carrying on the nuclear arms race in Europe".

At the July meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states the view was expressed that a drastic reduction and eventually the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, including warheads for dual-capable systems, would be an important measure leading to a lessening of the threat of war and creating a more stable situation in Europe, the Soviet expert recalled.

Correspondent Views Balance of Forces Talks

LD0508184088 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The current international situation is characterised by a lessening of East-West confrontation which creates favourable prerequisites for disarmament process in Europe. This is evidenced by the statements of a number of political and public leaders. In this context the opinion of the defense minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Rupert Scholz, expressed in an interview with the newspaper EXPRESS is of some interest. He said that the position of the Warsaw Treaty was coming closer to the NATO position on the question of troops reductions in Europe.

For quite a long time disbalances and asymmetries in the structure of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO were the main sticking point in drafting the Vienna conference mandate for the talks on reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe. At the recent Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member countries, its participants advanced the idea that the final aim of the first stage of the talks must be achieving roughly equal (balanced) collective levels in terms of the numerical strength of the armed forces and the amount of conventional weapons of the two military political alliances. Admittedly, the balanced levels must be lower than the current levels of the two sides.

This would create conditions for making a 25 per cent reduction (roughly by 500,000 men) in the armed forces of each of the sides at the second stage. At the third stage it is planned to go ahead with the reductions of the armed forces and conventional armaments to impart defensive character to the armed forces of the two countries. The proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to take account of the disbalances and asymmetries is an important step bringing closer their position with that of the NATO countries.

To determine the real balance of forces and the true size of disbalances and asymmetries in the field of armed forces and conventional armaments the Warsaw Treaty countries propose to conduct an exchange of initial data. Importantly, it should be done before the start of the talks. This measure, coupled with the effective verification system, will make it possible to foster confidence among the two contracting blocs in the legitimacy of their actions.

The proposals of socialist countries to have substantive cuts in the armed forces and armaments in Europe are marked by realism and embody the striving to search for mutually advantageous solutions to the most complex international issues. The Soviet Union believes that these proposals provide a serious chance for making headway in the stalled process of European disarmament.

Soviet CSCE Envoy Interviewed on Latest Talks

LD0508220788 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] As of today, there is a 3-week recess at the CSCE follow-up meeting taking place in Vienna. Delegations are to make use of it by consulting their respective governments with the aim of bringing the meeting to a successful conclusion. There is also a recess at the consultations between 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries which are preparing talks on conventional arms in Europe. Our special crew followed the final day of the conference and asked Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent in Russian fading into superimposed Slovak translation] Comrade Ambassador, which topical events have influenced the course of this, the sixth round, of the follow-up meeting?

[Kashlev in Russian fading into superimposed Slovak translation] If you have in mind the last few months, then there were several such events. In the first place it was the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, from where the call was made to bring the follow-up meeting in Vienna to a successful conclusion. Specifically, this would mean adopting an agenda for one of the most important talks: talks to limit conventional arms and equipment in Europe. This call has had a favorable reaction at the consultative talks among 24 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, which have been taking place here in Vienna in parallel with the follow-up meeting.

Furthermore, I must say that not only the socialist countries but particularly during the past few weeks West European states as well have shown a great deal of interest in seeing that the follow-up meeting ends successfully so that such military talks can be started. There has also been a great deal of talk here during our discussions about the initiative made by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher, who, with the support of his French colleague, called for an intensification of our efforts and for extending the current round, which we did.

At the same time, we have cut short our technical recess so as to be able beginning on 29 August, after individual delegations have received the necessary instructions from their governments, to speed up the proceedings and to prepare the conclusion of the meeting.

The important thing is that we achieved important and satisfying progress during the past few weeks not only in the methodological aspect of the follow-up meeting but also in regard to its content. I have in my mind the consideration of various aspects of the resulting document. We are preparing the final document on the basis of the proposal submitted by neutral states in May. Around 90 percent of the draft of the document has already been clarified and agreed to. Now we are truly preparing everything to enable us to accomplish our nearly 2 years of long work. True, we still have to examine certain issues or, to be more precise, a program of measures that concern a period after the Vienna follow-up meeting in various areas. In the military area it will be the already mentioned talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals. They will take place in Vienna like the talks on confidence building in the sense of the Stockholm Conference. In the economic area, as you already know the Czechoslovak proposal is on the table to hold an economic forum in Prague. We support this proposal although there is a similar idea, a competing proposal, to hold an economic conference in the FRG. It will, therefore, be necessary to adopt an optimal solution.

The Soviet delegation has reiterated our original important proposal made as early as November 1986 to hold an expanded all-European conference on cooperation in the humanitarian field. Support for this proposal has been developing favorably in connection with the important changes taking place within the socialist countries, with many delegations supporting this proposal but with some NATO states strenuously opposing it.

So, the proposals are already on the table. We are examining them intensively. Now it is necessary to reach a joint result to enable the CSCE follow-up meeting to end successfully, with the participation of foreign ministers of all 35 participating countries, in September or, according to some delegations, in October. This would be a big event in the life of Europe. [end recording]

'Top Priority' Views Foreign Policy, U.S. Ties

LD0608144088 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 5 Aug 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Vladimir Pozner, with panelists Radomir Bogdanov and Igor Malashenko—not further identified]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority." With me on the panel: Radomir Bogdanov and, stepping in for Sergey Plekhanov, who is on vacation, gentleman you heard before, Igor Malashenko. Both of them from the United States and Canada...

[Bogdanov, interupting] Still! Still!

[Pozner] You're still there, eh? Okay.

[Bogdanov] Yes, we are still there.

[Pozner] Today I would like to focus on a variety of subjects that all relate to Soviet-American relations. One, of course, is Frank Carlucci's visit to the Soviet Union. The other is the actual state of relationship

between the two countries as judged upon by the statements made by politicians, officials in both countries, and by the tone of the press, the media in general. And finally, I'd like us to look at the conference, the scientific conference that was held...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Scientific-practical!

[Pozner] Scientific and practical conference, I stand correct, er, corrected, that was held recently at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR here in Moscow. All of these are tied together. Now, Dr Bogdanov, you were present at this conference, I believe, and I think you would agree with me that the speech, the opening statement that was made by the minister of foreign affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze, was in many respects revolutionary.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, I agree with you fully, but I would like to go a little bit further than you did. I would like to say it was not a statement; it was a program, it was a foreign policy program for many years to come. For the first time, maybe—and I used to work one time, almost 25 years, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—I always was puzzled how we were working without such far, long-reaching, far-distance paper, with objectives, strategy, and maybe for the first time, I (?said) we have that paper. It was a speech, almost 4 hours, but it was like a very interesting science, er, very interesting fiction. You understand what I mean? It was a real piece of art. You know?

[Pozner] What would you, what would you point to as being the most revelationary...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Revelationary? Ya, ya! When I say fiction, I don't mean fiction by it—so you understand what I mean?

[Pozner] Yes.

[Bogdanov] By its style, you know. By its dynamic; it was not a dry, dry foreign policy paper. It was very, very full of life, real life. Now let me point out some, some striking points for me and for other people. There are quite a number of them, but we have no time to quote all of them.

[Pozner] Of course.

[Bogdanov] The most revolutionary, to my mind, is minister's, er, conclusion that no more confrontation and competition between two systems is a leading factor of our life.

[Pozner] In other words...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Leading...

[Pozner, interrupting] Let's make it clear to our listeners that...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yeah.

[Pozner] The view used to be...

[Bogdanov,interrupting] Yeah.

[Pozner] That the confrontational character...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes.

[Pozner] Between the United States and the USSR...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yeah.

[Pozner] Determines our relationship.

[Bogdanov] Not only between United States and USSR, between West...

[Pozner, interrupting] East and West.

[Bogdanov] East and West, and between capitalist and socialist.

[Pozner] Exactly. And now...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] And now we should look...

[Pozner, interrupting] We're saying it's no longer so.

[Bogdanov] No longer so, and we should look at the international system as a comprehensive one, as an interdependent world, the main object of both East and West is how to save that world, how to make it stable. And we, from our part, we are ready to take very active part in that world, to become a part of that world. And very important idea is that, not only politically, but we would like to take part in, part in the international division of labor. And I believe this is very important idea.

[Pozner] Let me interrupt you just for 1 minute. Dr Malashenko, you've been sitting here very quietly. People may not even believe you're here!

[Malashenko] Well, I am still here, but I wasn't present in this conference, so it's also very interesting for me, but...

[Pozner, interupting] What do you think about the following point made by Eduard Shevardnadze, and that is that peaceful coexistence is not, as many said beforehand, is not another form of class struggle?

[Malashenko] Well, I think it's very important because, er, this old idea of the peaceful coexistence as a form of the peace, of the class struggle, it just undermines the credibility of many of our steps, and, er, I'm sorry to say, but it's quite an obsolete notion. And one of the reasons why we had it for so long, that we didn't have too many meaningful discussions of foreign policy issues, and for

me, as an outsider, one of the most important ideas in, er, Minister Shevardnadze's speech was his, you know, his idea to, to have some democratic control over our foreign policy, and, er, to have some real political discussion of foreign policy issues.

[Pozner] When you talk about democratic control over foreign policy, you mean what? You mean constitutional changes, or...

[Malashenko, interupting] Well, I, I don't think that constitutional changes are necessary quite now, right now; it's necessary, you know, just to, to, make some existing mechanisms just, just to work. And we can have some democratic control of, of the Supreme Soviet, for example, the activities of the ministries connected with the defensive issues and military production, etcetera. And also it's very important to have a democratic discussion, I mean in our media. You know...

[Pozner, interrupting] Yes, I understand what you're saying. Now I believe that er, ah, Mr Shevardnadze, when he spoke of democratic control, was alluding also to the way the whole Afghanistan affair had started, when the decision was taken by a very, very small group of people, so small in fact, that not even all members of the Politburo knew about it.

[Bogdanov] Yes, you are...

[Pozner, interrupting] He was talking about a way of controlling this, so that no such clandestine, almost, decision could be taken. Correct?

[Bogdanov] You are, you are quite right, and there were some very, very precise suggestions that some, even constitutional...

[Pozner, interrupting] Really? Really?

[Bogdanov, continuing] ... changes should be made, to guarantee that the foreign policy decisions of, of that dimension can be taken democratically, approved by the people, and studied from different angles. Because somebody, somebody at that conference quoted some papers objecting that decision of sending our troops into Afghanistan, but they were not just taken into consideration. By the way, one very strong point of minister's statement was his insistence on the science being very closely integrated with the foreign policy, that foreign policy should be supported, not only supported but guided, by the science. He was talking a lot about integration of scientific capabilities with practical capabilities of the foreign policy. And he already created—and that belongs to him—some kind of a mechanism in the Foreign Office, and that never existed before, a special bureau, which is in charge of integrating foreign policy with the science.

[Malashenko] Well, that's fine, but I think that it's very important to have, you know, open discussion of alternatives, because you can have, of course, a lot of researchers, scholars, dealing with foreign policy, but if there is no open discussion, you know, I think that some of the alternatives, er, they just, er, we, we don't know about their existence. (?It's also) important...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Igor, Igor, about Afghanistan (?by the way). Your point, your point is very important, because when people were talking about integration of science and foreign policy, first of all they meant by that, alternatives, alternatives, a number of alernatives, because in the bureaucratic body itself you can produce only one alternative.

[Maleshenko] Right.

[Bogdanov] Because it's a product of the bueaucratic compromise. If you bring in the science, then you can produce independent science. Then you can produce some, some alternatives, and you can make a menu for decision-making level, when they can pick up some alternatives.

[Maleshenko] All right. Professor Bogdanov, my problem is that I have the perception that we're still lagging behind, you know, in the develpment of glasnost in foreign policy issues here.

[Pozner] But that's clearly been stated.

[Maleshenko] You know [words indistinct] when we have a foreign minister, you know, making the most...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Look!

[Malashenko, continuing] ...open and controversial state...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Look, if you were, if your were present at that conference, and if you were present at the panels, and there were eight different panels discussing in detail, you would be amazed, as I was amazed, at the openness of discussion.

[Malashenko] Well, I was, I wasn't there...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] I'm sorry to say. No, no no, I mean...

[Malashenko, interrupting] I would like to see its proceedings published.

[Bogdanov] I mean, that was something extraordinary!

[Pozner] I must say that I, I very much appreciate what, er, er, Dr Malashenko is saying here, because, er, I remember back in 1981, I was one of the very few journalists who mildly criticized Soviet policy vis-a-vis

Afghanistan—for which I was very severely reprimanded, and taken off the air for quite a long period of time—so that I fully agree that a journalist must have the opportunity to speak his mind on a foreign policy decision—ah, responsibly, certainly, but perhaps in that way making suggestions that could be very useful.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, and at that conference, the third, appeals to the journalists of your caliber, of your caliber, to criticize more foreign policy. That was...

[Pozner, interrupting] I think that's right, and I think that brings us to a third point that Minister Shevardnadze made, which I think is extremely important; in fact, I don't think it's been made anywhere in the world before, and that is that official diplomacy must, um, feel the influence of the population. There must be pressure from the average citizen on that diplomacy. Now I think that is a really new approach, don't you think so? And isn't that democracy?

[Bogdanov] Yeah, yeah that's, that's what, what is really what it is, what it is.

[Pozner] Well, we—yes?

[Malashenko] Yeah, I think that popular diplomacy is, first, it's a very, you know, important source of ideas, and it is proven by the recent history that in some respects, you know, just ordinary citizens, they could be very well ahead of official policy-making. Just let's remember INF program.

[Pozner] Yes.

[Bogdanov] And Vladimir, I am sorry, before we are closing, (?that I am down) and I afraid time is running out.

[Pozner] No, we still have plenty of time!

[Bogdanov] I would like to bring, I would like to bring the subject of Carlucci's visit, and...

[Pozner, interrupting] I was going to come to that. I'd like to come in with one thing here. I was going to say, we see obvious and radical changes in Soviet foreign policy—of course, in domestic policy as well—the two go hand in hand. We do not have different kinds, in that sense.

[Bogdanov] But let's be objective in the American foreign policy, too.

[Pozner] What I'm saying is, don't you see a change in U.S. attitudes towards the Soviet Union: More realism, less harsh words, less rhetoric, and a much greater desire to hold back and to work realistically, because of these changes. Do you see this happening?

[Malashenko] Well, I think that now there is a very important change in American perceptions of the Soviet Union. You know, for, for, for the first time, I see more or less balanced attitude, because in the past, you know, we saw, there were periods of exaggerated optimism, for example, of very deep pessimism, of very, you know, very harsh words about the Soviet Union.

[Pozner] Like a pendulum going back and forth.

[Malashenko] Yes. Right. And, er, possibly now they found some middle ground. And one of the explanations, I think that now the American society is much more self-confident society than it used to be, (?now) 10 or 15 years ago, and I think, er, it's good for the Soviet-American relations as well. It's much better to deal with a confident society than with a society with a lot of syndromes, ah, etcetera, etcetera. And, er, one of the by-products is more realistic attitude toward the Soviet Union, you know, because they don't have the psychological need for the enemy, and, er, ah, at the same time there is, there is no such exaggerated optimism, and I see it, it's a very, you know, solid, er, basis for the future development of our relationship.

[Pozner] One of the by-products is, to use your term, are the visits that have been going on at different levels, and certainly I would, ah, say that the visit of Frank Carlucci is also a by-product of that whole change. Dr Bogdanov, do you agree with that?

[Bogdanov] Yes! Yes! I agree.

[Pozner] What do you expect from this type of, of visit?

[Bogdanov] Well, I don't expect too much. I don't expect some revolutionary changes.

[Pozner] Very good!

[Bogdanov] And they're not meant for that.

[Pozner] Exactly!

[Bogdanov] When Marshal Akhromeyev, chief of our General Staff, went there, of course...

[Pozner, interrupting] To the United States.

[Bogdanov] To the United States, we, we, we could not expect any dramatic changes in American perceptions and views of the Soviet Union.

[Pozner] Don't you think that, the trip itself, was dramatic? The fact that he went?

[Bogdanov] That's what I mean! That's what I mean.

[Pozner] Yes.

[Bogdanov] Then, chief of, er, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Admiral Crowe, and Marshal Akhromeyev, sit facing each other...

[Pozner, interrupting] Right.

[Bogdanov, continuing] ...looking at each other's eyes, talking frankly. Don't you think that they may have some, some basic changes in their—have...

[Pozner, interrupting] Oh, I think it is quite possible.

[Bogdanov] What is the really enemy is [as heard]? Number one. Number two: When Marshal Akhromeyev is taken to the, er, carrier, to be, "Roosevelt" carrier, he's taking part in the exercise he's taking part in the Marine exercise, he feels American Army as it is. He talks to American soldiers, he talks to American officers, he eats their food with them. Isn't it something unbelievable? You'd hope something...

[Pozner, interrupting] It's almost science fiction, is it?

[Bogdanov] Science fiction almost, yeah.

[Pozner] When you think back, political fiction. Political science fiction.

[Bogdanov] No, political science fiction. And they are profesional. They are professionals, Akhromeyev and Crowe, and albeit Carlucci's (?tenure) is very short, but we look at his visit as a beginning, not as an end, but as a beginning of a chain of events of that kind. And if you look at the table with all these different, you know, exchanges between children, schoolchildren, students and all that, and you know...

[Malashenko, interrupting] And ministers of defense?

[Bogdanov] Ministers of defense! Now, now, with very clean conscience you can say: There is a change in the Soviet-American relations. Something major happened in the Soviet-American relationss. Don't you think so?

[Malashenko] Yes, because, well, after all...

[Pozner, interrupting] Make it real short!

[Malashenko] As far as I remember, it is the first working meeting of Soviet and American ministers of defense after the Second World War. And it is, you know, the best possible, possible moment to meet and to talk, because it's necessary to discuss some real hard military problems, and one of the most important is the problem of military doctrine, and of course only the professional military could do the best job in this respect.

[Bogdanov] Just one word!

[Pozner] Yes, please.

[Bogdanov] There is a suggestion that a meeting between Soviet and American soldiers, just soldiers, should take place.

[Pozner] I'm all for it, and let's look forward to it. On behalf of the panel of "Top Priority", Vladimir Pozner wishes you the best listening.

'Observers Roundtable' on Disarmament, Elections

LD0708175088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 Aug 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by Igor Pavlovich Charikov, USSR Radio International commentator, with Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of USSR State Television and Radio, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, IZVESTIYA political observer]

[Text] [Charikov] Hello, comrades! In my view one of the most important events of the past week has been the start of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. treaty eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The first missiles were destroyed on the Soviet testing range at Saryozek, which is 70 kilometers from Alma-Ata. Gathered there on Monday, 1 August, were not just the U.S. inspectors but representatives of various public organizations in the countries of Europe and inspectors of a kind, if you like, from the public. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was not only put into force during the visit to the USSR by U.S. President Ronald Reagan, but it has entered the first stage of its implementation. We have all seen the pictures taken in Saryozek. They have also been seen in Western Europe, and no doubt in the United States as well: Television news pictures are exchanged between us regularly. The reaction in the world press shows that there has been a high appraisal of the consistency of the Soviet leadership with regard to the matter of fulfilling their obligations under the treaty, and of the sincerity, too, of their intentions in solving other aspects of disarmament. When we talk about confidence as one of the most important factors of progress at any talks, we, the Soviet Union, have been accused—and we continue to be accused—of having insufficient openness.

[Zorin] Igor Pavlovich, before I deal with those accusations—and that is something to which we cannot fail to devote attention—I would like to stress once again the surprising nature of the events we have been witnessing this week. Human psychology is a very strange thing. People become accustomed very quickly to things which one would imagine it would be very difficult for them to get used to. What has happened is in the realm of the fantastic. This is happening for the first time in the history of mankind. The whole history of mankind, from the Stone Age, when the arms race boiled down to building up quantities of stone clubs in every cave, has been one of unrelieved buildup. Never before has there been an instance where weaponry has been destroyed,

and not simply weaponry at that but the most sophisticated weaponry. Now this week we have seen on our television screens the most up-to-date missiles being blown up. And although this did of course produce an impression, I did not get the feeling that people understand that something unusual and incredible is taking place. But in fact before our very eyes an event has taken place—and of this I am sure—that will go down in history textbooks and that will be described to our children by their teachers in school. That event has taken place this week. Now, about the lack of confidence.

[Charikov] Yes, or the accusations that we are insufficiently open.

[Zorin] Yes. Well, let's be frank. Let's begin from the fact that this is not just a matter of ill-intentioned talk but also of the fact that unfortunately events in the not-so-distant past do provide grounds for accusations of that kind. We do suffer from the chronic sickness of secrecy, sometimes totally unjustified. In years gone by it simply reached the stage where things become neurotic.

The Soviet public, say, was not informed in full about the content of all documents that made up the SALT I Treaty. They were known to the entire world, but they were not published in the Soviet Union. A considerable part of the SALT II Treaty was also kept secret: the word secret I use in quotation marks because it was a secret kept from all Soviet people, though for the world public it was no secret, everything was published.

Other examples could be given of cases where we quite unjustifiably restrict information, where we have not spoken about things that needed to be spoken about and that could have been spoken about. So we are now reaping the fruits of that line, and let's admit that there are grounds for this.

Let's understand that we're not going to get rid of this so quickly. The attitudes of the world public have not yet undergone any cardinal change by virtue of the fact that over the past couple of years we have become more open and have been publishing more information. A certain period of time is going to be needed. But our actions today are indeed working toward breaking down these stereotypes, both within our own country and abroad. And once again I refer to the fact that our listeners have seen on their television screens this week the U.S. defense secretary, accompanied by his advisers, visiting installations which were not just secret, they simply couldn't be mentioned—the airbase where our latest aircraft were situated.

[Kobysh] For some reason, Valentin Sergeyevich, they refer again to one of the newest aircraft by English words, Blackjack.

[Zorin] Blackjack, yes, just as in the past they referred to the Backfire. This was discussed in the latest edition of "Studio Nine." Those comrades who ought to reply to this are still keeping silent about it. Well, this is just another instance where no doubt this aircraft does have our own name for it. I don't know what it sounds like.

[Kobysh] I don't know why it's possible to name the MiG-29 but it's not possible to name another aircraft.

[Zorin] Yes, but at any rate in the reportage about Carlucci's visit to the airbase this bomber is indeed referred to as the Blackjack. It's stupid, it's comic, and overall it goes back to the old ways. In the final analysis, however, this is not the main thing. The main thing is that the defense secretary has been to these bases. Some of our comrades asked the question: Have we not perhaps shown too much? Yes, but, esteemed comrades, a few weeks previously Marshal Akhromeyev went to precisely the same kind of U.S. bases which until recently had been totally secret and he looked at the latest types of weaponry belonging to the United States. So this is not being done on any unilateral basis; it doesn't have the appearance of any excessive simple-mindedness on any one's part. It's a question of an extremely important process.

[Charikov] And you know, Valentin Sergeyevich, the world press particularly stresses the fact that establishing contacts and strengthening confidence in the military sphere—in the military sphere particularly, the most sensitive sphere, if one may put it like that—is in no way less important than establishing and developing contacts in the political sphere. Somehow or other we have grown accustomed to giving more attention to political contacts and meetings, to communiques and accords and initiatives, while contacts between military people, between those people who, God forbid, would have to carry out military actions, well, somehow or other we have forgotten about these contacts. Now even in this sphere a certain movement forward has taken shape and to judge by what has been agreed between our defense ministers these contacts will continue in the future.

[Kobysh] Here I would like to approach this from the other side a little to prevent our listeners and ourselves from getting the impression that some kind of idyllic situation has come about in the world or in Soviet-U.S. relations. There is no such idyll. All of this is being done by force of circumstance. The fact is that both the United States and the Soviet Union and the whole of the rest of the world have now recognized that the arms race which has tormented mankind throughout the past few decades has led civilization into an impasse. From this point on there can only be one thing—disaster. There cannot be anything else—the threat of universal destruction. There have been some very terrifying symptoms of what mankind is moving toward. To begin with the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station in the United States; then Chernobyl; and what is now taking place with regard to ecology, the pollution of the environment. The problem of survival has become a universal problem and the military people understand this too—they are also people, they are educated people.

[Zorin] They are citizens of their own countries.

[Kobysh] They are citizens of their own countries.

[Zorin] I agree with what you said with the exception of your use of the phrase, by force of circumstance. Those words have a kind of negative ring about them, whereas I think that this is the reaction of mankind to the new realities of our age and that it is a correct reaction. A very important question arises here—and this continues your train of thought, Vitaliy Ivanovich, about it not being right to go off into euphoria—well, we've begun to destroy the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, so the question arises: What next?

[Kobysh] Exactly.

[Zorin] In some places they say that there should now be a pause. Elections are taking place in the United States, they say. It is perfectly obvious that there must not be any pauses in this matter. Time is passing and mankind cannot make its political timetable dependent upon U.S. political campaigns. It is a very important task to ensure that there are no pauses here, that the talks about the next steps are not a waste of time but real talks with real results.

[Charikov] We've been discussing nuclear weapons, or at least, intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and we recall, of course, that it was at this time of the year that nuclear weapons were first used in 1945. Those days, 6 and 9 August 1945, have gone down as tragic dates in human history. On those days the United States made use of nuclear weapons not in the course of military operations or in the aim of achieving a breakthrough in the war—and even if such were the case it would hardly be justified—but against the civilian inhabitants of the densely-populated Japanese towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The history of the preparations for that inhuman act and its perpetration was recorded in precise detail on paper and on film, and has been frequently reproduced in memoirs and documentary films. The words Hiroshima and Nagasaki are firmly associated, and I am sure always will be, in the minds of the present and future generations, with that criminal, inhumane and immoral act by the then leaders of the United States. But the reason we remember Hiroshima and Nagasaki at this time every year is not to revive those associations again: we talk about nuclear weapons as such, we talk about this most dangerous means for the mass destruction of people as representing a risk of man ..d's self-annihilation. I am reminded of a remark by Churchill. He once said, though apparently without refering specifically to nuclear weapons, that the Stone Age might return on the shining wings of science.

[Kobysh] Of course, this nuclear threat that we are talking about is something just like a Sword of Damocles now looming over mankind, and when I said that movement has begun on both sides and that it is dictated not by any lyrical or purely humanitarian factors but simply by a real awareness of what mankind is heading for, still there is something which is already destroying mankind—environmental pollution. The words themselves are familiar and well worn, but I am going to mention some figures, which I'm afraid might seem monotonous, that I would like you to think about.

Each year world industry discharges into the atmosphere 200 million tonnes of carbon monoxide, more than 50 million tonnes of all sorts of hydrocarbons, 120 million tonnes of ash, and 120 million tonnes of sulphur dioxide, which return to earth in the form of acid rain. Scientists in the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, and other countries are now already speaking of the hothouse effect as a fact. I'm not going to talk at length about this—as everyone knows what it means. The climate is changing before our eyes; an ecological disaster is taking place before our eyes. A prominent Soviet academician has calculated that if human civilization continues to develop in this way there will only be a few decades left until the end. I don't wish to be pessimistic, but this is all very serious. Just how serious things now are in this area was given cogent confirmation by the fact that the recent regular session of th Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw adopted documents—I'm not going to say much about them now, but one of them was truly historic: An appeal by the Warsaw Pact to NATO, in effect, or to everyone, but NATO above all, to compete not in the arms race but in disarmament and to unite efforts for the production of weapons for the struggle against environmental pollution.

[Charikov] Against the destruction (?of the environment)...

[Kobysh, interrupting] It's incredible. Just think about it. You, Valentin Sergeyevich, have just mentioned an event that took place last week, a really fantastical event, when for the first time we, together with the Americans, began destroying missiles. Just think about it: One military bloc proposes to another not only that weapons be reduced, but that efforts be united to save mankind from the threat connected with the ecology, with environmental pollution.

[Charikov] When you, Valentin Sergeyevich, spoke of the responsibility borne by our countries' top leaders for mankind's future and of the steps they are taking and plan to take in the near future to reinforce the process which is underway and which we are witnessing, you mentioned the word pause. I made a note of that word because I was recently reading an article by David Newsom, a professor at Georgetown University, in THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. Professor Newsom believes that under the U.S. system such pauses are inevitable when there is a change of administration, a pause in the management of the country's affairs, either

every 4 or 8 years, depending on how many terms an administration remains in office. When President Reagan was here in Moscow, Senators Byrd and Dole were here as well. I managed to have a word with them in the Press Center. The question I asked was to what extent we could count on continuity from the next administration, at least as regards the disarmament talks. Both of them, one after the other, stated firmly that there would definitely be continuity, at least on the part of th Senate and that the Senate would exert the appropriate influence on the future administration, which takes up its duties...

[Zorin, interrupting] On 21 January of next year.

[Charikov] Correct. On 21 January of next year.

[Zorin] In connection with what you've been saying, Igor Pavlovich, since we've touched on the election campaign, there's something I would like to say. I think one of the distinguishing features of the present election campaign is the fact that the Americans are very interested in what is happening outside the United States, in foreign policy problems, and you know, I think that your impressions after talking to the senators are confirmed by a study of the pre-election speeches by the two parties' candidates. Well, that is, Dukakis is already the candidate for the Democratic Party and apparently Vice President Bush will be the Republican candidate—he has no rivals in this respect.

Although there are differences in what the two men have been saying about foreign policy, there is evidently no doubt that continuity, or, moreover, continuation of the present course will be ensured both by the Bush administration, if he is elected, and the Dukakis administration.

In connection with this, I would like to draw attention to something that our international observers have not yet mentioned. It seems to me, for example, that one of the most interesting things in the present election campaign is the fact of Dukakis's nomination. And here's why: Behind every important politician in the United States there are quite specific forces, above all, monopolistic groups. The last representative of the oldest monopolistic group—the Wall Street group, or, as it is sometimes called, the Northeast Establishment—was John Kennedy and that was 20 years ago. Since Kennedy, not a single representative connected with that group has been in the forefront or made a bid for the White House. The White House has been occupied either by representatives of California, Nixon and Reagan—this is a comparatively new monopolistic group, a very powerful one financially as well and one of the U.S. military industry centers—or else the Southern group—also a young and very aggressive group—represented by Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter, or the Midwest group represented by President Ford. Now, for the first time in 20 years, the Northeastern group is coming to the fore again. You might well ask what bearing this has not on theory or on what is only of interest to the specialists, but on foreign policy and on what is of interest to the general audience. And I can tell you that it does have a bearing both on policy and on the interests of the general audience.

Naturaly, the Northeastern monopolistic group is also connected with military business, but to a considerably lesser extent than the Californians and the Southerners. Sometimes we simplify matters when we say that U.S. monopolistic capital is interested in military production. It is an indivisible entity. Of the 500 major corporations in the United States 50 are linked immediately and directly with the Pentagon. And 450 are either not involed with it at all or little involved.

The processes to which the arms race led—the weakening of the currency system in the United States and the growth of the United States' debt, which are for the military corporations covered by their profits—are not all that advantageous to those corporations that are not connected with military business. Now those corporations that are less associated with military business than the Californians, say, have acquired such influence that they are advancing to the fore Michael Dukakis, the governor of the state of Massachussetts, who is very closely connected with the Kennedy clan.

I do not wish to say that, if Dukakis comes to the White House, a dove will appear there. The President of the United States is a person who, once he has become President, takes into account the interests of not only one monopolistic group. He is the personification of the interests of monopolistic capital as a whole, and the military-industrial complex still has sufficient levers to exert pressure on the future President. Nevertheless, I consider it necessary to underline that significant circumstance because that is directly relevant to our conversation when we ask will there be a pause or not, will the process that is occurring at the moment continue or not, under the next U.S. Administration.

[Koybsh] I want to take advantage of this conversation—it is, so to speak, extraordinarily suited in my view—in order to express repentance. When the election campaign started, Valentin Sergeyevich, who is a real expert on this subject—he has written a book on it and is, so to speak, one of the most important experts on U.S. studies specializing in this subject—well, for all that I began to argue with him. It seemed to me that Dukakis would not stick it out in order to be the Democratic candidate. Now I admit that I was wrong. Gallup has just conducted a public opinion poll: 51 percent back Dukakis and 40 percent support Bush.

[Zorin] For all that?

[Kobysh] For all that.

[Zorin] Although there is still a long way to go yet, Vitaliy Ivanovich.

[Kobysh] There is still a long way to go yet. So, I want to say that the U.S. election campaign is such an affair that no oracle can predict what will happen. Even Gallup, if he were to be sitting here in the studio at the moment, would not be able to say definitely who will be U.S. President.

[Charikov] He wouldn't guarantee it.

[Kobysh] He wouldn't guarantee it.

[Charikov] Over the last few days the U.S. press has been paying special attention to certain shifts in the solving of regional conflicts. I have in front of me the magazine NEWSWEEK containing an article headed "Is Peace Really Breaking Out All Over?" and in that article three regional conflicts are listed one after the other, in which definite changes for the better are taking place, according to the magazine. These are the war between Iran and Iraq, the Cambodian problem...

[Zorin, interrupting] I think, Igor Pavlovich, that you have now touched upon one of the major events, to be more precise, one of the most important processes that is occurring at the moment and has been taking place in particular over the last week, the results of which we are summing up now. There are very many reports—this is in the forefront now—about steps aimed at putting an end to the 8-year bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq, a war that has already taken a toll of more than 1 million lives. And it would seem, although we're not going to rush to conclusions, that here light has started to appear at the end of the tunnel. But it is no simple matter, even in that individual conflict, although it is a question of a very serious conflict and a very dangerous conflict which may produce the most unexpected outcomes. But in my opinion, what is important is the process itself. It is important that that conflict is part of a process that is occurring right before our very eyes. The beginning of this process was laid by the steps taken by the Soviet Union to put an end to the conflict in Afghanistan.

[Charikov] Yes, I especially did not mention Afghanistan, because Afghanistan is in principle a separate subject, and it also figures in the materials in the U.S. press.

[Zorin] Yes, that is true, Igor Pavlovich, but it is a chain reaction. Look, serious prospects have been discovered for getting out of the deadlock in connection with Afghanistan, and immediately important shifts began to occur in several regional conflicts, one after the other. Igor Pavlovich has already mentioned them.

[Kobysh] Even in the south of Africa.

[Zorin] Yes, even in the south of Africa in connection with Angola. And in Cyprus prospects have emerged, too, to put an end, with the help of the United Nations Organization, to the many-year-long conflict—which is also dangerous—in Europe. And the Iran-Iraq conflict as well. This is not accidental. It is also a sign of the times, a process whose foundations were laid—and we need not be modest about it—by the steps taken by the Soviet Union in embodying the new thinking in order to unravel and untie those terrible knots, the dangerous knots of world politics. I think that the ever strengthening hopes that these conflicts will be brought to an end one after another are very important events of the past week. In any case, a light has started to appear, and there is a glimmer of hope that each of them is peculiar to itself.

What is taking place surrounding Cambodia is nothing like what is happening in connection with Angola or in Cyprus, but the approach itself, the method itself—the absence of any buildup in military threats and instead a buildup in the quest for political solutions to these dangerous military conflicts—bears witness to its fruitfulness and that could be seen quite graphically, in the last few days in particular.

[Kobysh] Naturally, there is nothing new in what I am saying, but in general this is all connected with the restructuring that is taking place in our country—it is being projected into international relations—and with the democratization that is taking place in our country. International relations are becoming more democratic, too. Thus, we, the world of socialism, which has mighty allies in the nonaligned countries and throughout the peace movement on the planet—well they are on the march now, and we are in general on the right path now. In general the age in which we live is a severe one, one might even say a cruel one. For the survival of mankind it does not even demand mercy, it does not simply ask for common sense, but for the development of an instinct of self preservation. And we are witnesses to that.

[Charikov] You are absolutely right, Vitaliy Ivanovich. I think we have touched upon only a part of the problems that are worrying you and me today, the Soviet public and the foreign public. Naturally, we cannot embrace them all, but the things that we talked about—and I feel sure you agree with me—really are of the greatest interest at the present time.

Well, comrades, the time for our program has run out. On behalf of the participants in our program, I thank you for your attention and say goodbye to you. Until we meet again.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, U.S. Envoy Discuss Afghanistan

LD0808172588 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburu of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, who conveyed a personal message from U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

In the conversation the sides exchanged views on issues related to the completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe and a number of practical aspects of bilateral Soviet-American relations, specifically in the humanitarian sphere.

At the ambassador's request, Shevardnadze dwelt on the situation relating to Afghanistan. He emphasised that the just ended talks in Kabul corroborated the viewpoint that an obvious imbalance emerged in Afghan settlement: At a time when the Afghan Government and the Soviet Union consistently adhered to the course towards implementing in full the Geneva agreements, Pakistan continued destructive actions.

Shevardnadze drew attention of the American side, as one of the guarantors of Afghan settlement, to facts running counter to the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements.

Reagan Welcomes Iran-Iraq Cease-Fire

LD0808212788 Moscow TASS in English 2113 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 9 TASS—Addressing the annual meeting of governors in Cincinnati, Ohio, President Reagan described the expected announcement by the secretary-general of the United Nations of a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war as "a piece of very good news ... news that we may finally see an end to that long and bloody war."

"On behalf of all Americans," Reagan said, "I applaud and encourage the efforts of the Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in bringing an end to this tragic war, and I send him this message: The hopes of the world are with you."

At the same time Reagan attempted to present the nascent prospects for an end to the Iran-Iraq war as a result of "policy of strength" of the USA and its allies. According to him, the presence in the Persian Gulf of the navies of the U.S. and other NATO countries played a decisive role as did "their resolve and the staying power" in the Security Council.

Carlucci Endorses NATO Consolidation

LD0508215088 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Istanbul August 5 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci staying on an official visit in Turkey was received by Turkish President Kenan Evren today. Questions of bilateral cooperation were discussed, the ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY reports.

Frank Carlucci gave a news conference on the same day. He said that Turkey is one of the countries which have always performed their functions in the NATO framework with a high sense of responsibility. He said that in addition to relations with the Eastern bloc, questions of bilateral U.S.-Turkish cooperation, also in the NATO framework have been discussed during the talks with the Turkish leadership. Mutual proposals related to prospects of cooperation in the military area and in the modernisation of Turkey's land forces were on the agenda. Answering the question if he believes in the existence of the Soviet menace to Turkey, the defence secretary said that perestoyka brought long-term changes in the Soviet society, and that military equipment and enterprises are shown more openly in the Soviet Union. At the same time he made a recourse again to the hackneyed thesis that the USSR continues arms build up and said that the further consolidation of NATO is necessary in this connection.

Veto of Defense Budget Linked to Elections

PM0508145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 88 Second Edition p 7

[Vitaliy Gan dispatch under rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Presidential Veto"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Aug—A rather strange conflict has flared up between the White House and Congress. President Reagan has vetoed the bill on the appropriation of $299.6 billion for the Pentagon in fiscal 1989, which had been approved by the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Joining journalists in the White House press room—which in itself is unusual—the President told them that his decision was based on the fact that the bill allegedly "signals a radical change of direction in the course followed by our national defense—a change from strength to the weakness of the seventies." According to Reagan, the military budget approved by Congress undermines the SDI program and jeopardizes Soviet-U.S. talks on arms control.

Being familiar with the stance of the Pentagon leadership, the journalists received the President's words with overt skepticism. Furthermore, the bill does not differ enough from the administration's original request to warrant a veto, especially as the total of $299.6 billion corresponds to the sum agreed upon last year between the White House and the lawmakers. It is true that

Congress has somewhat rearranged the Pentagon's expenditure priorities, but its key programs remain essentially untouched. So by cutting the government's request for the implementation of the "Star Wars" program from $4.9 to $4.1 billion, the country's supreme legislative body is in no way jeopardizing the plans for the militarization of space—the appropriations amount to a 2 percent increase on the present level of funding. Funds for the mobile MX ICBM have been secured, albeit at a slightly reduced level, and expenditure for the single-warhead ICBM "Midgetman" has even been increased.

In short, as S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, put it, "this bill is more in line with the programs requested by the administration than any other military bill approved by Congress during the past 6 years." Nonetheless, the President deemed it necessary to reject it.

Paradoxical as it may seem, there is nothing mysterious about this step by Reagan. The presidential veto was dictated exclusively by considerations relating to the election struggle between the Republicans and the Democrats, which is heating up more and more. Reports say that Reagan's policy advisers advised him to reject the bill in order to make the Democrats look "soft" on military issues.

Commentary Faults U.S. Logic on Nicaragua

LD0508200788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] We have received a report from Managua that Daniel Ortega, president of the Nicaraguan Republic, has taken part in the radio-television program "Face the People." In particular, he spoke on the subject of Washington's intention to resume aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary gangs. Such an intention, Daniel Ortega stressed, aims at foiling the peaceful accords signed in Guatemala and Sapoa and at transforming Nicaragua and the whole of Central America into a theater of military operations. What kind of excuse is official Washington trying to make in order to justify the resumption of aid to the Nicaraguan contras? I address that question to my colleague, Commentator Boris Andrianov.

[Andrianov] At the end of last week, President Reagan made his regular Saturday radio address. From beginning to end, it pursued a tough anti-Nicaraguan line. The White House chief even tried rather persistently to place responsibility on the Nicaraguan Government for the fact that the process of attaining a peaceful settlement in Central America has slowed down dramatically. Allegedly it is only the Sandinist authorities who are to blame for that; this was repeated time and again by the U.S. President.

One thing seems odd, however: The chief of the Washington administration was far from wishing to burden himself with the need to cite any convincing proof on that account. He preferred to confine himself to unsubstantiated accusations against Nicaragua, to the effect that the latter ostensibly had not abided by the Guatemalan Accords on a peaceful settlement.

Such charges, judging overall, were needed by the White House chief in order to create the appearance that Washington was sincerely concerned with achieving peace in the Central American region. At the moment, President Reagan maintains that only strong pressure on the Sandinists by the contras is ostensibly capable of forcing Nicaragua to adhere to the Guatemala Accords. And in order to be able to exercise that pressure, the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries urgently need U.S. aid. In a word, they claim it is needed in the name of peace in Central America.

However, that Washington logic is false through and through, because the chief argument cited by the U.S. President in favor of immediate aid to the contras is, just as before, the appeal to fight communism: Defense of democracy, support for the cause of freedom against communism are correct moves, Reagan said, addressing media leaders. One would think that he relies on the momentum of that hackneyed argument as a means of exerting pressure on the U.S. legislators in the Capitol.

After all, 6 months ago the U.S. Congress suspended military aid to the contras, and this was carried out on the eve of the provisional cease-fire agreement which the Sandinist government signed with the contras last March. Incidentally, that step inspired certain hope for a peaceful political settlement of the Nicaraguan issue.

Now the White House chief refers to the suspension of U.S. aid to the contras as a terrible mistake and demands its resumption without delay, trying to scare the congressmen with an unpredictable threat to the United States should the legislators turn down the administration's request.

Meanwhile, THE NEW YORK TIMES believes that military aid to the contras will set fire to the negotiating table of the Sandinists and representatives of the counterrevolutionary forces. In the words of that U.S. newspaper, the Reagan administration has set an unattainable goal before itself—to topple the Sandinist government. That is why it keeps rejecting the diplomatic alternative, preferring to engage in hostilities through the contras. THE NEW YORK TIMES made quite a sound assessment of the actions by the Washington administration vis-a-vis Nicaragua, and one can hardly fail to agree with the conclusion of the U.S. daily.

Congressional Report on Japan Viewed

LD0708225188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Boris Andrianov commentary]

[Text] The KYODO agency reports from Washington that a group of U.S. congressmen in charge of armed

forces issues has laid out a number of claims to Tokyo officials. The claims were set forth in a special report by the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. Here is a comment on the latest news. Boris Andrianov is at the microphone.

[Andrianov] It may seem at first glance that there is nothing new in what the U.S. congressmen are demanding of Japan. They are insistently recommending that Tokyo officials prepare themselves to secure the defense of the 1,000-mile zone around the Japanese archipelago and carry out the blockade of the three international straits linking the Sea of Japan with the Pacific. Washington has been demanding this for a long time. About 6 months ago the United States reiterated these demands at the U.S.-Japanese meeting that discussed issues of joint military strategy for the nineties. Moreover, when Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense, visited Tokyo the month before last, it seemed that Washington developed a new approach to the problems of military cooperation with Japan.

One should recall at this point that for many years the Pacific allies have acted along well-tried lines. Washington demanded that Japan build up its military potential at a faster rate while Tokyo gave in to the U.S. demands, as if under pressure, thus increasing the might of the Japanese armed forces. So, after the visit of the Pentagon head, a seemingly new note sounded in the U.S. attitude toward its Far Eastern ally. In the opinion of the Japanese MAINICHI newspaper, there are grounds for this. It says that the Japanese military potential has reached such a level as to begin to worry the United States. Therefore, the United States seems to have stopped demanding that Japan show more activity in arming itself. There is no need for that now because operations of the Japanese armed forces in these zones are only to supplement the Pentagon's actions. In any case, this was envisaged by the concepts of military cooperation between Washington and Tokyo, which were developed earlier.

Now it turns out that all those earlier arrangements are under review. The special report by the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress says clearly that Tokyo is to act both in the 1,000-mile zone and in the region of the three international straits without any direct aid from the U.S. Armed Forces. Such a recommendation obviously has a fundamentally new nature. It openly urges Japan to increase military spending and strengthen considerably the might of its naval and air forces. To do this, as U.S. congressmen see it, Japan will have to acquire its own aircraft carriers, for instance. This is the first time the United States has set forth such demands in an official document. To all appearances, all this is dictated by the Pentagon's strategic schemes for the Pacific region. Their purpose—and this is no secret—has an anti-Soviet nature. Those overseas are trying to justify this orientation of their plans by whipping up a myth of some Soviet threat in the Far East. Tokyo officials also have had a hand in this dubious business, something that does not mesh at all with their statements on preparedness for establishing neighborly relations with our country.

Delay in U.S. Space Shuttle Test Noted

LD0708132488 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 7 TASS—Another test firing of the space shuttle Discovery's main engines (with preparations for its launching being under way in Cape Canaveral, Florida) is to be held not earlier than the end of the next week.

This has been reported by official representatives of the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, noting that the delay was caused by the need for replacing a main engine valve and a sensor on the valve, which reports its motion to the computer.

The shuttle's computer system ordered the shutdown one second before ignition during the first attempt to check the reliability of the main engines, undertaken on Thursday. The computer system sensed that a valve which lets liquid hydrogen circulate was closing too slowly. If the valve is too far open at ignition, there is a risk that fuel under extreme pressure would be shunted through vulnerable part of the system, rupture a line and trigger an explosion.

The test firing, which is bound to confirm for the last time the safety of the functioning of all units of the Discovery's main engines (with changes having been made after the Challenger exploded more than two and a half years ago), is most essential before launching the Discovery, planned for the end of September this year.

Commenting on the NASA's report, the newspaper NEWSDAY writes that the past two weeks saw test firing of the Discovery's main engines postponed five times because of various flaws. Specialists therefore mention October as the possible date for launching the Discovery, on which the NASA pins its hopes for resumption of regular shuttle flights.

Test Firing Rescheduled

LD0808214688 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 9 TASS—The U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) said it would conduct the crucial test firing of the space shuttle Discovery's engines on Wednesday.

It was announced at the Cape Canaveral launch site that the decision followed after specialists replaced a faulty valve system which caused last week's test firing to be aborted.

During the expected experiment, Discovery's main engines will be fired for 22 seconds with the shuttle bolted to the lanch pad. The ship's solid fuel boosters will not be ignited.

The firing is expected to be a test not only for the engines, but also for the entire countdown process and lanch teams. AP news agency reported that the test firing was a requirement since no shuttle had flown in the more than 2.5 years since the Challenger explosion.

Discovery undergoes all tests as a completely new, untried spacecraft. AP reported that no date had been set for Discovery's launch, but five postponements to date had made it all but certain that National Aeronautics and Space Administration could not meet a late September target.

The test was set for 7:30 a.m. local time. Specialists will begin the countdown for the test on Tuesday at 18:10.

Northeast Asia

Moscow, Tokyo 'Now Preparing' Shevardnadze Visit
OW0508095988 Tokyo KYODO in English 0929 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Tokyo, Aug 5 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze hopes to visit Japan sometime in December and the Moscow and Tokyo governments are now preparing for the visit, Soviet diplomatic sources here said Friday.

The sources said in a regular monthly briefing to reporters that Shevardnadze hopes to set the specific date for his visit to Tokyo before late September, when the United Nations General Assembly is convened.

Shevardnadze and his Japanese counterpart Sosuke Uno are scheduled to meet in New York during the UN session.

Shevardnadze last came to Japan in January 1986.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev promised to send Shevardnadze to Japan by the end of this year when he met Japan's former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in Moscow in late July.

The sources expressed the hope that the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Japan will promote Japan-Soviet relations.

On the 10th anniversary this year of the signing of the peace and friendship treaty between Japan and China, the sources said the Soviet Union would welcome a further warming of the Sino-Japanese relations based on the accord.

At the time of the conclusion of the treaty, the Soviet Union strongly criticized it for including an anti-hegemony clause, claiming the article was directed at Moscow.

Far East Complex To Supply Alloy to Japan
LD0808131788 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Khabarovsk August 8 TASS—An understanding on the delivery of a technological unit to produce aluminium alloys to the Soviet Far East from Japan was reached at talks which ended here today between representatives of the amalgamation Dalvtortsvetmet and the Japanese company Mitsui.

"In case the undertaking is a success, establishment of a joint venture will be the next stage in our activities," Leonid Solovyev, Dalvtortsvetmet amalgamation manager, told TASS. "Mutal benefit is self-evident. Up to this time aluminium alloys are supplied to Japan from Soviet Western areas—from the Transcaucasian union republics and the Ukraine. Naturally, the Soviet side shoulders substantial transport expenses. New capacities at the operating plant putting out metal from scrap will enable us to produce fully the alloys for Japan in the Soviet Far East in the next few years. We also hope for the further development of non-ferrous metallurgy for our own needs and for hard currency receipts which will be used at our own discretion."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Heng Samrin Ends 'Vacation' in USSR
LD0808123888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 8 Aug (TASS)—Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, left the Soviet Union today. He was on vacation in the USSR at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Near East & South Asia

Further on Shevardnadze Visit to Kabul

Interviewed by BAKHTAR
PM0808103988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 5-6

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze Interview With BAKHTAR Agency"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, who was on a working visit to the Republic of Afghanistan, granted an interview to the Afghan news agency BAKHTAR.

Question: Your current working visit to the Republic of Afghanistan is the fifth over the past 18 months. Previously you were in Kabul in early April—a week before the signing of the Geneva accords. Welcoming this intensity of contacts, we would like to ask, what is the aim of your visit this time?

Answer: The aim is the same it was in all preceeding visits: peace in Afghanistan. A settlement around Afghanistan. Friendship, cooperation, and collaboration between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

Certainly, every visit has its working purpose and specific political aim. This is also true of the current meeting. But on the whole, the unprecedented intensity of contacts in Soviet-Afghan relations mentioned by you is a reflection of the concern of the Soviet and Afghan leaders, and directly of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. Their concern centers on establishing peace in your country and the region, meeting the will and aspirations of the Afghan people, and consolidating all the patriotic forces on the common platform of national reconciliation. This political and moral objective does not accord only with the interests of the Afghan and Soviet peoples. It is also in the interests of all the peoples of the region, of the whole international community. Failure to support it and failure to contribute to its attainment is tantamount to acting against their will and interests.

You have recalled the April visit. April is a wonderful month, and it is even more wonderful to you and me now that it is also associated with the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. But the way to Geneva passes through Tashkent, where on 7 April Mikhail Gorbachev and Najibullah declared in the joint Soviet-Afghan statement their willingness to immediately sign the Geneva documents.

And still earlier, if we speak about the prehistory of the previous visits, there were other meetings of our countries' top leaders which deepened and enriched the practices of Soviet-Afghan cooperation. There was the day of the start of the national reconciliation policy which created prerequisities for a foreign policy settlement of the Afghan issue.

Time has accelerated its pace and, naturally, made our contacts more frequent.

As far as the current visit is concerned, I will say that August is also a good month. It may be even a very hot one and full of storms—and not only of dust storms—but nevertheless presaging a favorable change in the national, regional, and international climate. Despite the attempts at blocking them, things are moving in the right direction. By August 15, one-half of the Soviet troops will have returned home from Afghanistan. In other words, by that date the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan will have met another important commitment in connection with the timetable for the withdrawal of troops envisaged by the Geneva accords.

Yet our cooperation with the Republic of Afghanistan, which is peaceful and creative, has a different, not temporary timetable. We attach paramount significance to it. The troops are returning home, but friendship and cooperation remain. The traditional trade and economic relations between our countries and the Soviet Union's participation in the development of Afghanistan's economy are reaching a new stage. And we are staying here to this end. This has been, along with the questions pertaining to settlement, the main subject of our talks with President Najibullah, Prime Minister Sharq, other Afghan leaders, and representatives of your country's business circles.

Question: This is a subject of utmost interest to us, and we would like to ask you a question in connection with it. But first allow me to ask you what is your assessment of the situation concerning the Afghan settlement?

Answer: It is positive as a whole. The Afghan settlement firmly stands on the track of the Geneva accords and is moving on it. There are, certainly, attempts at undermining it, at derailing it, but we and the Republic of Afghanistan are doing our utmost so that the "train" of settlement reaches its destination. We are firmly confident that this is sure to happen.

This is going to happen because the accords reached in Geneva, accords that created an international-legal basis for the settlement of all the foreign aspects of the Afghan conflict, have given an impetus to the positive internal political process.

This is going to happen becuase they have organically joined the course of the general human striving prevailing today. In turn, they have favorably influenced their movement towards the desired goals. Isn't it indicative that following the progress in Afghanistan, the settlement trends—with other national or regional modifications—have manifested themselves in other conflicts which had seemed unending?

This is going to happen because the settlement is proceeding under the banner of the United Nations organisation, which is demonstrating so strikingly its ability to be an effective instrument of peace. In signing the "Geneva package" in the presence of the U.N. secretary general and his personal envoy, the sides have thus made a commitment not only to their peoples, but also the whole world community.

This is going to happen because the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are meeting their commitments. The withdrawal of Soviet forces has begun and is proceeding according to the timetable. Already in a few

days there will be no Soviet units in 25 Afghan provinces. We have no doubt that the return home of the Soviet troops will be completed by the time set.

Question: Yet the other sides are violating the Geneva accords. They are also violating the important provision, linked with the troop withdrawal, on an end to foreign interference from outside. Kabul and other cities are rocketed, and peaceful civilians are killed. In a number of provinces, irreconcilable opposition members armed with foreign-made weapons continue sowing death. Caravans with sophisticated weapons are moving from the side of Pakistan, and calls are issued for the overthrow of our legitimate government. How does all this tally with the requirements of the Geneva accords?

Answer: This is incompatible. Yet it is not enough to register violations; it is necessary to work towards putting an end to them. Our respect for international-legal commitments dictates to us a whole package of political-diplomatic measures based on active interaction with the institutions of the United Nations, the Pakistani side, the other countries, and the United States of America as a guarantor of the Geneva accords. We are implementing these measures. Yet with all this, we explicitly consider the rocketing of cities and villages and the acts of sabotage to be international terrorism.

I believe the Afghan people agree with that definition.

Such an important provision of the Geneva accords as assistance to the return home of refugees is not being implemented either. More than 140,000 people who left the country at different times have returned home to date. Their number would be far larger had the Pakistani authorities not put erected any obstacles to them. The home country is looking forward to the return of refugees. Everything necessary is being prepared for the restoration of their homes and farms, but they are being held back by force. We are bringing the corresponding facts for a verdict by the world community and the world public. We intend to take all necessary measures so that the strict observance of the Geneva accords by some sides and crude violation of them by the others should not create problems for the Republic of Afghanistan. As guarantors of the accords, we have not only the right but also the duty to do that.

I saw the cases of the shells which killed so many innocent people. One can clearly see on them the markings of the countries that manufactured them—in other words, the sign of interference from the outside. Those who put those weapons into the hands of murderers have no moral right to even make any mention of humanism, of respect for the individual and for international law.

In sacrificing human lives for the sake of their selfish interests, they are aiming at the national reconciliation policy, at the process of Afghan settlement, and striving to further destabilize the situation in the country.

We have already examined a whole number of factors by force of which, in our view, it will be impossible to frustrate the settlement process. I would now like to touch upon another factor, which is, perhaps, the most effective one. It is the unity and cohesion of Afghanistan's patriotic forces, to whom peace and the revival of their long-suffering land is the paramount objective. To them, it is something above any differences and controversies, whether the nature of these be class, ideological, religious, or tribal.

I believe I have the right to assess that factor since I know about it not from hearsay. During my previous visits to you, and in the course of my current visit, I met and spoke with Afghans representing a broad political spectrum of the country, its party and public organizations, religious circles, and tribes. Even with all, at times, diametrically opposed views, they are united in their striving to end bloodshed and to restore peace to the Afghan land. The national reconciliation policy, as personified by President Najibullah and his loyal comrades-in-arms, has become to them a common platform, a foundation for building a peaceful, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan.

This policy has been put forward not by a group, not by a narrow circle of people, but by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—Afghanistan's largest and best-organized political party. Its members vigorously cooperate with representatives of other parties as well as nonparty people. This is no narrow party, but rather a general, national dialogue. If someone needs facts, let him look into the composition of the supreme authorities of that country. I spoke with the prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, Mr Muhammad Hasan Sharq. This notable statesman and political figure of that country does not belong to any party, in common with many members of the cabinet he heads. In a government that includes 31 ministers, 18 are nonparty people or members of other political or public organizations of the country, representatives of all classes and social estates, and many nationalities and tribes. Seventy percent of the members of the government and parliament are not members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Among them are people who held key posts under Afghanistan's previous regimes. If we speak about their party membership, this is, in my view, one party of lofty, true patriotism, and one of all honest Afghans selflessly dedicated to the cause of their country's revival.

Such an approach is predetermined by the current state of Afghan society, the state of things in the country. Any other choice inevitably leads to irreparable consequences. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has displayed high political maturity and responsibility when, after having overcome a certain confusion in the minds generated by overzealous adherence to unshakable postulates, it called under the banner of the national reconciliation policy all the healthiest forces of the society.

By actively supporting that policy, they put the cause of the country's salvation above dogmatically interpreted class interests, and the ideals of the people's good, prosperity, and life without trouble and deprivation above ideological cliches. They have also supported noble common sense inspired by the country's supreme interests to ideological fanaticism of "irreconcilable" orthodox persons and extremist fundamentalism. In this, they met with unreserved support from workers and farmers, intellectuals and entrepreneurs, the clergy and young people, and party members and nonparty people.

Question: How do you see cooperation between our countries in conditions of Afghanistan's transition to peaceful life?

Answer: We set forth the concept of that cooperation to President Najibullah and other leaders of the country. Recently Soviet and Afghan organizations completed the coordination of a new, important intergovernmental Soviet-Afghan document—the draft long-term program for economic, technological, and trade cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan for the period up to the year 2000.

The program is explicitly oriented towards ensuring growth in the economy of the Republic of Afghanistan—restoring, modernizing, reconstructing, and building mining, processing, energy, transport, agricultural, and other projects, including social facilities. I would like to lay special emphasis on the latter, since it is the working men who are to directly benefit from the development of cooperation.

The setting up of joint Soviet-Afghan ventures and the development of production cooperation is planned.

Heightened attention is devoted to cooperation with Afghanistan's private sector, whose representatives traditionally make a great contribution to laying trade bridges between our countries. We will build mutual trade on the basis of a search for and the introduction of its new forms; include other export items into trade along with the staple ones; and will broaden border trade.

The program provides for strengthening and deepening direct ties between our union republics and Afghanistan's provinces, the cities of our countries, Soviet and Afghan ministries and departments, and plants and work collectives.

Afghan nationals will be trained as before, but on a larger scale. They will come to work in the Afghan economy, culture, and science. It must be noted, for that matter, that it has been planned to build a complex of research institutions—a whole township of institutions of the Afghan Academy of Sciences.

The Soviet Union has granted a large government loan to Afghanistan for projects and exploratory and top-priority work.

Both state-owned, mixed, and cooperative Afghan organizations, and private entrepreneurs and firms can participate in implementing the program of Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation. There is one more area of cooperation which I would like to mention specially—space exploration. In near future, a joint Soviet-Afghan space flight will be held. This means that the Republic of Afghanistan will join the family of the countries "ploughing" the virgin soil of outer space to sow peace. It can easily be observed from a high altitude that the Afghan territory is covered with wounds. It is necessary to heal these wounds, and the Soviet Union will make its contribution to this. It is necessary only that war should not pile up mountains of obstacles on the road to Afghan revival. Those who destroy the facilities and communications built with our assistance should realize they are destroying popular well-being and are cutting off light, water, foods, and clothing from common people who are sick and tired of war. I am no great expert in the law of Islam, but I do know for a fact that plundering the people violates it.

Now the question is raised in one or another country of clearing the "mine fields". Far from all of these mines were planted by us, and more than enough of them by no means bear Soviet markings. Yet this makes things no easier for peaceful Afghans returning to their abandoned homes. But the main roads the refugees are taking to return home are safe because our field engineers have cleared them. The maps of the areas in which this has not yet been done have been turned over to the Afghan side. But we have irrefutable reports concerning the continued planting of mines. This is done by those who are unhappy about peace in the Afghan land. It is also known who supplies them with the mines. To prevent the fuses from being detonated, it is necessary to put an end to interference from the outside. And not only we and our Afghan friends, but the whole world community, should act as field engineers.

Most states support the cause of a just settlement of the Afghan problem. The Republic of Afghanistan has many real, devoted friends—all the socialist countries, many states of the Nonaligned Movement, and great India. We know that in Pakistan, too far from all the people agree with the stand of that country's leaders, leaders who are guiding matters, as a matter of fact, to torpedo the Geneva accords. This broad international support convinces us that the mines of foreign interference will be neutralized.

We are returning home firmly convinced of the triumph of the common Afghan cause. Saying goodbye to our friends, we tell them: "We are always with you."

Visits Factory, Meets Workers

LD0708194688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Mikhail Leshchinskiy from Kabul]

[Text] Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze began the last day of his working visit to Afghanistan with a visit to the Jangalak Works in Kabul. In Afghanistan, where there is practically no large-scale industry, this enterprise, which was built more than 25 years ago with the help of our country, is unique. It is equipped with the most modern equipment which produces a large quantity of things that people need, from simple farming tools to oil cisterns and bus bodies which are put onto Kamaz chassis from the USSR. The first large foundry plant in Afghanistan has also been set up here.

But it was natural that when showing Eduard Ambrosiyevich their enterprise, people should have spoken first and foremost about what all Afghans are concerned with now: the future of the country, for the situation continues to be extremely tense. The Afghan opposition, with the support of Pakistan, is hampering in all sorts of ways the fulfilment of the Geneva accords, and is hindering the establishment of peace and quiet in the country. For example, Kabul was subjected to particuarly intensive shelling during the last month. This shelling, according to some reports, caused individual instances of people leaving the capital. But, as the workers said, no one from the Jangalak Works themselves left. [Video shows Shevardnadze being presented with flowers, applauded by workers, admiring tanker vehicles, talking to workers inside the works, general interior shots; Leshchinskiy interviewing Shevardnadze outside the works, surrounded by officials of various kinds]

[Begin video interview] [Leshchinskiy] I think this visit was a little bit unusual for you: full of meetings with public figures, party people, and members of parliament. And today you had a meeting with workers. What are your impressions of these very crowded days?

[Shevardnadze] I have the very richest impressions. (?First), we did indeed have very useful and fruitful talks with the president, Comrade Najibullah, with Sharq, the prime minister, with ministers and members of the Political Bureau, with party people and nonparty people, and...

[Leshchinskiy, interrupting] Representatives of various parties?

[Shevardnadze] Various parties. Today I also have a meeting with business circles, including merchants, so to speak, people who have an interest in the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union, both economic and trade cooperation, and scientific cooperation. Today I also have a meeting with the clergy. I shall try to mix with Islam, so to speak, to listen to them. This is a wise policy by the party and state, the leadership of the state, when they try to find a common language with all classes, with all strata (?of society), Afghan society, incuding with the clergy, and the tribes, and so on. And here today we mixed with the working class, with engineers, and technicians.

This is a good enterprise, a modern enterprise, and I think it is a good symbol of Soviet-Afghan friendship, which has been laid down over 6 decades on the principles of equality, so to say, neighborliness, and mutual benefit. This is the clearest manifestation of our friendship, our neighborliness.

So I wanted to say, the director of the enterprise made a very good impression. He is a thinking, reflective man, one who knows both his equipment and his people, so to speak, very well. This makes a very good impression. [Video shows Shevardnadze pointing to director, who smiles and nods] The engineers, technicians, and workers all make a very good impression.

There are very experienced people who have gone through school and were trained in our country. Many studied in the Soviet Union. There is the middle generation, there are very young people—(?17)- and 16-year olds who already have a work record and have been working and earning money for a couple of years. I think it is very important that they show very great concern for the workers here, the social and cultural conditions, so to speak, the supply of food, of housing and so on, because they are working at a profit, and once an enterprise is working at a profit, that means there is a chance to develop and show concern for the workers, for the collective.

[Leshchinskiy] I have the feeling that you are full of optimism.

[Shevardnadze] Good optimism. We are returning home, so to speak, with good optimism.

[Leshchinskiy] Many thanks. [video interview concludes]

Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze visited another enterprise as well, this time a private one. Its owner has made use of credit offered by our country to Afghan entrepreneurs by opening a works to assemble bicycles. The parts and components come from Belorussia. It has turned out to be a profitable and very promising business. Soon new shops wil be built here, and it is even planned to produce motorcycles here.

Here, too, there was a detailed, down-to-earth talk with representatives of national capital [kapital] devoted to prospects for cooperation, the creation of joint enterprises. [Video shows Shevardnadze in bicycle works, talking to workers, general interior shots. A banner on the wall reads in Russian: "Long Live the Unbreakable Afghan-Soviet Friendship." Shot of building site cuts to Shevardnadze at long table with large numbers of businessmen]

In the afternoon, Eduard Ambrosiyevich Shevardnadze left Kabul for Moscow. [Video shows cortege of cars, occupants getting out at airport; Shevardnadze walking toward plane accompanied by several officials; waves from top of steps, sendoff party waves back; plane takes off]

Departs After Final Talks

LD0708125088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1137 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul, 7 Aug (TASS)—A final meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Najibullah, president of Afghanistan, has been held here. During the meeting, stock was taken of Shevardnadze's working visit to Afghanistan.

The sides noted the complete agreement of views on all issues discussed during the visit. It was agreed that the study of a number of specific issues, including those concerning economic and cultural ties as well as science and technology, will be continued at the expert level in the context of preparing for the upcoming visit by Afghan Prime Minister Sharq to the USSR. The president requested that his greetings and best wishes be passed to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A joint Soviet-Afghan report [as received] has been adopted on the results of the Kabul talks.

Shevardnadze met S.M. Ziray and S.A. Keshtmand, Politburo members and PDPA Central Committee secretaries.

Shevardnadze received M. Koshani, first secretary of the Toilers Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan; M.I. Kawa, Politburo member of the Toilers Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan Central Committee; H. (Yeron), Politburo member of the Toilers Organization of Afghanistan; and A.M. (Dehzada), Central Committee Politburo member of the Toilers Organization of Afghanistan. Both parties are part of the bloc of left-wing democrats.

An interesting and substantive conversation took place between Shevardnadze and V.M. Kamentsev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and a group of Afghan private entrepreneurs. During the conversation, it was noted that links are now energetically being developed between Soviet organizations and Afghan business circles. In this regard, it was stressed that there are great reserves and potential for considerably expanding these links on a mutually beneficial basis.

Shevardnadze visited the Jangalak Works and a bicycle assembly enterprise. He familiarized himself with the production and spoke with the workers.

E.A. Shevardnadze left for home today. He was seen off by A. Wakil, PDPA Central Committee Politburo member and Afghan foreign minister, and by other officials. Those seeing him off included N.G. Yegorychev, USSR ambassador to Afghanistan.

Welcomed Home by Yakovlev

LD0708162688 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, who was on a working visit in the Republic of Afghanistan, has returned in Moscow from Kabul today.

At the airport he was welcomed by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Among the welcoming party was Afghanistan's Ambassador to the Soviet Union Subhana Safi.

Afghan Prime Minister Views Shevardnadze Talks

LD0708150588 Mosow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 7 Aug 88

(Text] Kabul, 7 Aug (TASS)—"My meeting with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze was lengthy and effective. It demonstrated total mutual understanding and was useful from the viewpoint of achieving the goals placed before it," M.H. Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, said in a meeting with foreign journalists. He stressed that the USSR is fully carrying out the Geneva agreements and is scrupulously following the schedule for withdrawing the limited contingent of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

Our people are placing great hopes on the implementation of the Geneva agreements connected with a long-awaited peace, the head of the Afghan Government said. Unfortunately, it must be said that Pakistan's position is hampering the peace process. Islamabad is supplying the rebels with U.S. rockets, which are being used against civilians, and doing things to undermine the Afghan people's unity. The national reconciliation policy has opened to our state prospects for social and economic development. This policy is neither slogan nor propaganda, but rather our national path of development.

Currently, Soviet forces have already left 20 Afghan provinces, the prime minister said in conclusion. State power is being maintained in all these territories, but terrorist acts by the rebels are continuing. The main blame for this is borne by the Pakistani leadership. However, the United States, a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, is also contributing to kindling the conflict

by supplying modern, lethal weapons. Today it is necessary for all forces involved to one degree or another in the conflict to join in the national peaceful settlement process.

Praises 'Fruitful' Visit

LD0808181088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] As you know, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has completed a working visit to Kabul. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from Kabul:

[Shkirando] Although this was a working visit, it nevertheless evoked enormous interest in Afghanistan. It took place at the time when the 50- percent withdrawal of the units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan to the motherland is coming to an end. Let me remind you that, in accordance with the Geneva agreements, this is to be completed by 15 August. Our country and Afghanistan are strictly and rigorously fulfilling the obligations which they have undertaken. Unfortunately, this cannot yet be said about the other side which signed these documents which are of historic significance to the cause of settling the Afghan question. I have in mind here Pakistan and also the United States, which is a guarantor of their implementation. As a result, bloodshed is continuing as before in Afghanistan. This is now a matter of concern to every sensible Afghan. For this reason it was the focus of attention at the numerous meetings which Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze had in Kabul.

During his visit, the Soviet foreign minister met—in addition to the leaders of the Republic of Afghanistan—leaders of left-wing democratic organizations, a group of private entrepreneurs, parliamentarians, and the governors of several provinces.

Evaluating the significance of Comrade Shevardnadze's visit, Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, said: This visit was very useful and fruitful for the further development of Afghan-Soviet relations. He confirmed that, as before, the Soviet Union is ready to provide aid to Afghanistan in all areas. Participation in restoring the economy, which has been destroyed by the war, will be an important aspect of this aid, Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, said in conclusion.

Embassy Briefing Discusses Shevardnadze Visit

LD0808091388 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 8 TASS—A briefing for local and foreign journalists organized by the USSR Embassy was devoted to the results of the working visit of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, to Afghanistan that ended Sunday.

It was stressed that the uniform view, reached during the talks, that the very substance of the Geneva agreements is indissoluble from the commitment of either side to act in a responsible way and scrupulously to abide by all provisions of the documents signed.

In so doing, it was pointed out that the Soviet and Afghan sides were fulfilling in full measure the obligations assumed by them under the Geneva arrangements. In the next few days there will be no Soviet troops already in 25 provinces of Afghanistan and there is no doubt that the withdrawal of the limited contingent will be completed within the set time-frame.

At the same time, the actions by the Pakistani side, which systemetically commits serious and flagrant violations of these agreements, give rise to grave concern. This situation cannot but prompt the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan to draw respective conclusions and determine their actions in case interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is not halted.

Special attention at the talks was devoted to a further development of Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation. According to available official figures, material damage brought to the country over the last ten years runs into over 10 billion dollars. Afghanistan's military spending today amounts to over 60 per cent of the entire spending of the current budget.

Today, the USSR gives the Republic of Afghanistan economic and technical assistance on 320 projects, of which upwards of 140 went into operation. During the talks an accord was reached that a long-term programme for economic, technical and commercial cooperation between the two countries for the period ending in 2000 will be signed during the visit of Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq to the USSR this autumn. Measures to expand cooperation with the private sector of the economy should be viewed as its new element.

The newsmen's attention was drawn to the question of the so-called mine warfare, which is raised time and again in the West. The main routes through which refugees return to the homeland are safe, Soviet sappers cleared them. It is known that apart from the Soviet and Afghan sides, there is also the third side which exactly now is engaged in mining definite areas. There is irrefutable information on the ongoing planting of mines by those whom peace on Afghan soil does not suit.

Attempts are made to project the matter as if Soviet troops are engaged in this. Such fabrications are devoid of any grounds like the ones which say that they use booby-traps (mines disguised as toys), etc.

Western mass media also contends that Soviet troops conduct or are going to conduct some large-scale military operations. At the briefing its was stressed that no such actions are taken on the Soviet side. Soviet troops firmly abide by the schedule of the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Official Explains Post-Withdrawal Ties

BK0808004888 Hong Kong AFP in English 2237 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul, Aug 8 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has no plans to launch major troops offensives in Afghanistan, a spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Kabul said Sunday.

Mikhail Konarovskiy, counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Kabul, told foreign journalists here that the Soviet Union had no intention of launching a major troops offensive and instead was planning to help in the "reconstruction" of entire sectors of the Afghan economy till the year 2000.

The help would be given under an accord for economic, technical and commercial cooperation to be signed within the coming few months in Moscow by Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq, according to a statement made public Sunday in Kabul and in the Soviet Union.

The accord was agreed during the official visit to Afghanistan by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who left Sunday for Moscow, the spokesman said.

The Tupolev 154 that carried Mr Shevardnadze was escorted upon departure by six combat MI-24-Hind helicopters which poured out flares to confuse and deflect anti-aircraft missiles, such as the U.S.-made Stinger held by mujahidin resistance rebels, a Western eye-witness said.

Kabul airport was heavily guarded by Soviet military during the foreign minister's visit.

Western analysts noted the length of Mr Shevardnadze's visit in Kabul, his fifth in 18 months, and his contacts with numerous civil and military officials at state level and lower levels. Mr Shevardnadze arrived in Kabul Thursday.

The planned cooperation accord between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan provides for an increase in the number of joint venture enterprises and reinforcement of "direct ties" between the Soviet republics and the Afghan provinces, as well as between the cities and the ministries of the two countries, Mr Konarovskiy said.

This plan was proposed in recent months especially to reinforce the links between Afghanistan's northern provinces close to the Soviet border, he said.

The accord would also provide for "larger scale" training of Afghan specialists in the Soviet Union, the Soviet diplomat said. A delegation from the Soviet Ministry for Professional Training was currently in Kabul, he said.

Mr Shevardnadze visited a garage specializing in car repairs and a bicycle factory on Sunday before his departure.

Military Withdrawal From Kabul Continues

TV Shows Units Departing

LD0808174788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by M. Leshchinskiy, Ye. Shmatrikov, and A. Savin]

[Text] [Announcer] The first Soviet military unit from among those deployed in Kabul left for home today.

[Leshchinskiy] Thus the turn of the inhabitants of the Afghan capital has come to see the Soviet soldiers off on their way to the motherland. Naturally, it should not be thought that all of them will leave here at once. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops is being carried out in strict accordance with the plans which make provisions for all the military, political, and technical aspects of so large a combat operation.

In exactly a week, on 15 August, its first stage ought to be completed. By that date half of the entire personnel of our troops in Afghanistan will have crossed the Soviet-Afghan frontier. As you can see today, a great many Western correspondents are present here. UN military observers are working in many regions of the country and also at the frontier.

It is natural that the steadfast observance of the Geneva agreements by the USSR and Afghanistan continues to change the military and political situation in the country. These changes, incidentally, are not only positive, but also negative. The latter is a reference to the forces of the armed opposition which continue combat operations, continue to violate the Geneva agreements, and carry out large-scale subversive and propaganda work which, incidentally, receives very vigorous support from the information centers of the West.

Various rumors and leaflets are being circulated, and attempts are made to sow panic. In particular, I myself have heard, from foreign radio stations, that the power of the opposition has now allegedly been set up in places which Soviet forces have left.

This, of course, is completely untrue, and I state this with the utmost responsibility. Now from here, from Kabul... [changes thought] incidentally, it was literally yesterday evening that governors of provinces from which Soviet

troops had been withdrawn also stated, at a news conference, that the situation was stable there and that Afghan Army forces were holding the positions which our troops had earlier occupied.

Several Soviet military columns in the west and north of Afghanistan are already simultaneously on the move toward the frontier, or else the soldiers there are counting the hours until the start of the journey home. [Video shows an armored personnel carrier [APC] on the move, old man looking on; close-up shot of APC on the move establishes it as a BTR-70. Girl gives flowers, and an old man a garland to soldiers sitting atop the vehicle; unidentified officer responds to correspondent's questions. Unidentified helicopter flies past the ranks of soldiers and APC columns at a standstill on road, long shot of unidentified vehicles on the move along asphalt road]

Further TV Reportage

LD0808185088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 8 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver; video report by special correspondent Sergey Rybin from Kabul]

[Text] A military unit of the Kabul garrison is today leaving the capital's Kheyr Khaneh District. It is leaving for home. The unit concerned is a motorized rifle unit comprising 500 soldiers and officers and 100 units of combat material. Kabul residents have come to see off our servicemen who have fulfilled their internationalist duty. [Video shows Soviet soldiers sitting on armored personnel carriers and of Afghans with flowers and flags]

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has already been underway for about 3 months. All our soldiers have already left Gardeyz and Kalat, Ghazni and Jalalabad, or 19 provinces altogether. Now it is the Kabul garrison's turn. In the last few days, more than 50 foreign correspondents have arrived in Kabul. They represent the world's major news agencies, newspapers, and television networks. They all gathered here today. For the umpteenth time, a representative of the Soviet contingent's headquarters answered versions of the same question. [Video shows journalists, a line-up of Soviet servicemen, a uniformed Soviet officer speaking to journalists]

[Begin unidentified officer recording] By the 15th we will have withdrawn 50 percent of the troops stationed in afghanistan. [end recording]

Yes, we are honestly implementing the Geneva agreements. The troops are leaving, with the schedule being strictly followed. Now the pullout along two routes, Qandahar-Herat and kabul, has begun. The areas where our troops were stationed are being occupied by detachments of the Afghan Army. They have only one task: to rebuff armed units of the opposition. It is now clear that, contrary to the propaganda hullabaloo and the sharply increased U.S. and Pakistani aid to the counterrevolution, the Afghan Army is successfully carrying out this task. The plans of formations of the irreconcilables to seize the towns of Kalat and Jalalabad and to cut Qandahar off from Kabul have been foiled. A brief rally is drawing to a close. The command is given to return to the vehicles, and a column of motor riflemen sets off. [Video of armored personnel carriers and tanks moving along the road; a group of Afghan servicemen lines up, with civilians flanking the road]

You can see that soldiers are sporting flowers in the barrels of their submachineguns. One would wish that they could travel all 520 km to the Soviet border like that. However, these 520 km will be difficult and fraught with danger for them.

Radio Program, Listener's Letter View Pullout

LD0708142388 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 6 Aug 88

[From the "Moscow Mailbag" feature; presented by Joe Adamov]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] David Martin writes to us from [name indistinct]: Now that your troops are coming home from Afghanistan, is there any reaction on the part of the populace?

[Adamov] Let me remind you that in Afghanistan, over 13,000 of our boys were killed and over 35,000 wounded. The people are welcoming home the boys who performed their duty in a very difficult and dangerous area. At the border, people meet them with flowers and gave them a ceremonial welcome home. But articles have appeared in our media to the effect: Did we have to go into Afghanistan? Was it really necessary? Our leaders have said that we were asked on about a dozen occasions to help stem the tide of outside invasion from the territory of Pakistan. Historians will, in the long run, decide whether we did right or wrong. And then, why not look at it this way? If it is correct for one side to arm, to train, and send across the border whole armies, armed to the teeth, to overthrow a legal government, why is it not correct and not legal to come to the aid of the country thus attacked?

Other articles have also appeared in the press that the boys have to wait for days for an airline ticket to fly home, and then they are not given the attention they deserve on the part of the local authorities, and that their needs are not met. When the men say: We fought in Afghanistan, give us a ticket, the bureaucrats say: We didn't send you there. But this tendency is being overcome. A rehabilitation center for wounded soldiers is being set up on donations from the public.

Kabul Mounts Operations Against 'Extremists'
LD0808141088 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 8 TASS—One thousand one hundred and fifty refugees returned to Samangan Province over the last year and a half despite the impediments put by the Pakistani authorities and the irreconcilable part of the opposition, BAKHTAR news agency reported.

An assembly of chieftains of tribes, elders and representatives of the clergy was held in Hashka-Mina [name as received] District to declare their unreserved support for the country's government striving to put an end to bloodshed in Afghanistan.

The counter-revolutionaries do not abandon attempts to destabilize the situation in Nangarhar. A large amount of weapons depots belonging to extremists, part of which is moved to towns and villages to stage acts of sabotage, are located in the territory of the province. The security forces of Jalalabad headed off several planned crimes the other day. In the environs of the town they seized a depot holding a large amount of explosives and mines.

An operation was carried out to comb the locality of Achin District, during which anti-aircraft missiles, a British-made large-calibre machinegun and other weapons fell into the hands of Afghan soldiers. BAKHTAR points out that civilian planes repeatedly came under fire from this area.

Afghan Army units discovered a whole system of underground weapons depots linked between themselves by passages in Paghman District of Kabul Province. Seventy two rocket-propelled grenandes and 126 mines of various types were found there.

Government troops mounted an operation in Sarkani District of Konarha Province, during which they destroyed 45 extremists and injured 35. With the vigorous assistance of the population of Doman District, Qandahar Province, Army units seized 52 rocket projectiles prepared for launching.

Iran, Iraq Agree To Gulf Cease-Fire
LD0908071988 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 9 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 9 TASS—At a meeting of U.N. Security Council Monday U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar announced that a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq goes into effect on August 20. He called upon all parties "to observe a ceasefire and to discontinue all military action on land, at sea and in the air as of 0300 hours GMT on August 20 1988".

Perez de Cuellar said that Iran and Iraq expressed consent to this decision in the context of implementing in full measure U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 on ways to settle the bloody conflict that had been going on for eight years now. Perez de Cuellar urged Iran and Iraq for maximum restraint before the ceasefire goes into effect and also noted that he would extend a formal invitation to both countries to send their representatives to Geneva on August 25 for direct talks under his auspices.

Li Luye (China), president of the U.N. Security Council, emphasized that the Council approved the statement made by Perez de Cuellar and expected from both parties to refrain from any military actions prior to August 20.

He said the Security Council confirmed its determination to work for full implementation of Resolution 598 as an integral whole and declared for one more time its unreserved support for U.N. secretary-general's further actions to pursue these objectives.

Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati told a press conference Monday that Iran was ready to refrain starting from August 8 from any military actions. He said that on behalf of his country's government he informed U.N. secretary-general about this. He said Iran agreed with the timetable for the fulfillment of all provisions of Resolution 598, which was proposed by Perez de Cuellar.

'Ismat Kittani, permanant representative of Iraq to the United Nations, told journalists that Resolution 598 is a formula for attaining lasting, comprehensive and just peaceful settlement. He expressed satisfaction that Iran dropped his rejections with regard to direct talks. Kittani said that peace between Iraq and Iran began from August 8.

To ensure a ceasefire, Perez de Cuellar drew up on the part of the international community proposals for setting up a United Nations Iran-Iraq military observer group to be known by the acronym UNIIMOG, the team will fix the agreed-upon ceasefire lines, monitor ceasefire compliance, investigate any possible violations, and also prevent any changes in the obtained situation prior to the withdrawal of all forces of both parties to the internationally-recognized borders.

The observers will also be charged with several other duties to lesson tension during the disengagement of both parties' troops. The question of establishing this force, which is to comprise about 350 observers, will be considered at a Security Council meeting today.

Libyan Naval Vessel To Visit Odessa 8-12 Aug
LD0608195088 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Under an agreement reached, the frigate Al-Hani [name as received] of the Libyan Navy will pay an official friendly visit to the Soviet port of Odessa on August 8-12.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Joint Statement on Southern Africa Noted

LD0808193688 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Havana August 8 TASS—In accordance with the agreement reached between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States at last week's fourth round of talks in Geneva on the settlement of the situation in southern Africa, the parties issued today the text of the joint statement in Luanda, Havana, Pretoria and Washington.

According to the document, published in Havana by PRENSA LATINA news agency, the parties to the talks agreed on a sequence of steps necessary to ensure the granting of independence to Namibia in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, and to achieve peace in southwestern Africa. The parties agreed to recommend to the secretary general of the United Nations the date of November 1, 1988, for the beginning of implementation of Resolution 435.

On their part, Angola and Cuba reiterated their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable for the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. This timetable will have been worked out by September 1, 1988.

The parties approved a series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military conflicts and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations, the statement runs. With the approval of these measures a de facto cessation of hostilities is now in effect.

The next round of negotiations at the level of senior officials will take place after August 22 with the exact date and venue to be established.

Commentary Views Geneva Quadripartite Talks

MB0708160888 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 6 Aug 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Grigoryev]

[Text] A few days ago I expressed doubt that the hopes pinned on the round of the Geneva talks would materialize. I proceeded from the assumption that South Africa's unrealistic proposal—outright diktat, actually—and the fact that the South African foreign minister, Roelof Botha, had breached the news blackout at the talks, might lead the negotiations up a blind alley. But I was wrong, and I am glad of that.

Representatives of Angola and Cuba displayed staunchness and coolness, and did not leave the talks, and today, as the communique points out, the outcome of the negotiations is regarded as positive and productive.

If you may recall, at the start of the Geneva talks, Pretoria advanced so-called new proposals on the settlement. In fact, the step was nothing but an attempt to take over the initiative, drive Angola and Cuba into a corner, and dictate terms to them. Many diplomats and observers note that, although they were angry over Pretoria's tactics, the envoys of the two countries demonstrated a businesslike approach to the talks.

And the (?prolongation) of the negotiations for Monday is viewed as a positive sign. In a joint statement for the press on 3 August on Pretoria's new proposals, representatives of Angola and Cuba said they did not seek to pose as (?dictator) at the talks, nor would they remain passive in the face of the breach of the elementary rules of the negotiations.

Pretoria's new initiatives are regarded by many observers as a clever diplomatic maneuver. The reactionary French newspaper, QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, says the chief goal of this maneuver was to hold the opposite sides fully responsible for the failure of the talks, in the event of an inconclusive round. This initiative, the newspaper stresses, has some other goals: to (?clear) up the position of the partners, and throw a stone at the Angolan-Cuban camp.

The outright provocation failed, and this is not surprising. Reality calls for a peaceful solution to the crisis in southwest Africa. That's what Angola and Cuba are calling for. Their flexible and realistic proposals are common knowledge. Their initiatives aim at making it easier to find solutions acceptable for all sides.

Plans for a peace settlement in southern Africa have been and will be made. What is most important is that if (?a treaty is cause) for a real agreement, it should search for compromises, rather than (?lead) the talks astray. The position of Angola and Cuba can only be respected. Their representatives have repeatedly displayed constructiveness at the talks, and countered major difficulties created by Pretoria, and have fought against the position of the United States, whose representative is a mediator at the four-sided talks.

The Cuban and Angolan delegations came to Geneva with their own suggestions on terms of ceasing military action and establishing final peace. But they took off from the agenda a number of issues, thus showing their flexibility. Unconfusedly and logically, they brought the Geneva round to its logical conclusion. On Monday 8 August, a coordinated statement on the results of the Geneva talks will be published in the capitals of the countries involved in the talks. Observers and diplomats believed that the statement may contain the date of a cease-fire. The undeclared war (?waged) against sovereign Angola has cost it very dearly. Today, as well as yesterday and the day before yesterday, the Angolans want first of all, peace, to live and work quietly. And the people in Namibia, still occupied by the South African racists, want the same.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos pointed out in one of his recent speeches that people in Angola would very much like to see agreements concluded this year to bring peace and stability to Angola and Namibia, and later, he said, they would like to see other agreements to turn the region into a zone of peace, free development and cooperation. It is evident that the way towards solving one of the most complex and long-lasting regional conflicts has been outlined. All the interested parties should display political will and readiness to follow this path. Geneva has proved that a way can be found even on a dead end.

Burkina Faso's Compaore Receives Astrauskas

LD0808133588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Ouagadougou, 8 Aug (TASS)—Blaise Compaore, chairman of the People's Front and head of state of Burkina Faso, received here on Sunday a Soviet delegation led by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The delegation conveyed greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the August Revolution. The head of the delegation spoke about the Soviet peace initiatives, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July CPSU Central Committee decisions, and the reform of the political system taking place in the USSR.

B. Compaore expressed his sincere gratitude and thanks for the support given to the endeavors of the Burkinabe people as they implement progressive transformations. He raised the USSR's proposals for reinforcing peace and international security, and wished the Soviet people success in implementing the revolutionary restructuring process.

East Europe

IZVESTIYA Interviews CSSR's Indra

PM0308144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, in Prague by own correspondent L. Kornilov: "Deepening Democracy"; date not given]

[Text] Prague—"The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference," Comrade Alois Indra said, "was a historical turning point in the development of the history and practice of socialism and one which has tremendous international importance. The CPSU has again acted in the role of a courageous trailblazer. The discussion was frank, ardent, and truly party-minded. One of the main questions was the restructuring of the activity of the soviets, especially plans concerning support for their autonomy, the intensification of their management and control functions, the democratization of the legislative process and the improvement of the electoral system—all this is in many respects also inspiring us in the CSSR Federal Assembly.

"It seems to me, for instance, that the principle whereby workers in state organs responsible to representative, elected, organs in fulfilling their obligations, should not be deputies of these organs is absolutely correct. This principle prompts us to consider the improvement of the political mechanism as well.

"If there were talk of, for instance, the deputies' complete liberation from their official, production duties, I personally would be dubious: Would that not mean depriving them of the advantages stemming from daily contacts with the life of the labor collectives? At the same time releasing deputies from their main work for a certain period is obviously correct. In our country, too, with the growth of the tasks of the Federal Assembly and the increase in the volume of legislative work in the restructuring period, deputies undoubtedly require considerably more time than before for their work in electoral districts and in the Federal Assembly itself."

[Kornilov] The last Federal Assembly session, it seems to me, showed this.

[Indra] That session will probably be written into the history of restructuring in the CSSR. The laws adopted at it create a "legal floor" for consistent economic reform. Above all, they include the law on the state enterprise, the law on agricultural cooperatives, and the law on housing construction cooperatives and consumer and production cooperatives. Their thrust lies in transferring a substantial proportion of legal responsibility onto the labor collectives and in creating the prerequisites for the deeper implementation of the principles of autonomy, self-management, and self-financing, and for people's broader participation in the solution of the problems of the economy and consequently of problems of the standard of living and social confidence.

We also approved a law on social security. This is the biggest step in implementing the CPCZ's social policy since its 17th congress. It not only intensifies citizens' social protection but also takes into account in a more differentiated way a person's services in allocating him a pension. Henceforth the wages "ceiling" from which a pension is calculated has been increased to 4,000 korunas.

[Kornilov] What preceded the adoption of these acts?

[Indra] For several months strenuous work has been under way in our parliament. We did not want to hold up for literally even a day the introduction of such important changes. Here it was intolerable even to somehow lower our exactingness in preparing these laws. That is why we set the "plank" of the ceiling of the legislative process and its democratic nature far higher than has been customary so far. You probably know that during

the public discussion individual citizens and organizations voiced over 100,000 comments and proposals on the drafts of the three main laws. This enterprising approach will undoubtedly also be displayed in preparing subsequent legal acts.

[Kornilov] When you attend the session you notice an unvarying rule: Together with the main keynote speaker, for instance the chairman of the government or a minister, a report is also delivered by a deputy called the "collective assessor," if I have a correct understanding of this term to which we are not accustomed. Could you say a few words about this person.

[Indra] I would call him "the expresser of the common viewpoint." It is by no means some formal duty, as it might seem to the uninitiated. His task at sessions of the chambers is extraordinarily important. The committees which discuss a particular range of problems elect him from their midst and assign him the task of collecting the fullest data on the problem and coordinating all work during the preparation of the discussion of this point on the agenda. At sessions of the chambers he provides information on how the discussion in the committees proceeded, whether disputes arose, and how they were resolved. He may suggest amendments which have been approved by the committees and he recommends to the session (of course, once again not on his own behalf but on the committee's behalf) which stance it should adopt. During government debates questions or comments are addressed to him.

[Kornilov] One more term which is unfamiliar to us—"deputy studies." You often read in the newspapers that a group of deputies has spent several days at an enterprise in some region or some sector. What is this and why does it exist?

[Indra] Yes, these studies are widely practised in various districts and regions, at enterprises, cultural, educational, and health institutions, military garrisons, and so forth. During this time the deputies are relieved of their main work to execute their state duties and the Federal Assembly settles accounts with the enterprises and institutions where the deputy works. The aim of these studies is to develop one's own view of the phenomena which are being discussed so that the deputies can approach constructively, as opponents, the drafts proposed by the executive organs. After all that is the overall point of their work.

[Kornilov] Are pensioners, as a most marked stratum of society, represented in the Federal Assembly?

[Indra] Yes, at the last elections several pensioners with a large amount of experience of former activity as deputies and sociopolitical activity were elected deputies. As an example I can cite Hero of Socialist Labor and nonparty deputy Alois Huml, who has become a member of the Federal Assembly Presidium. Or deputy Richard Nejezchleb, chairman of the Chamber of Nations Defense and Security Committee. But it must be said that as a whole the number of pensioner deputies (there are about 20 of them) is not that large and does not reflect the proportion of this population group.

[Kornilov] What is the structure of the Federal Assembly? What committees does it have?

[Indra] The composition of the Federal Assembly corresponds, with a few deviations, to the social, political, and national composition of Czechoslovak society. The Federal Assembly is bicameral and consists of a Chamber of People (200 deputies) and a Chamber of Nations (150 deputies). The deputies of the former are elected throughout Czechoslovakia in electoral districts of approximately equal population size. In the Chamber of Nations the Czech and Slovak socialist republics have been given an equal share—75 deputies each.

Each chamber at its inaugural session after the last general elections created nine standing committees (commissions) each. The structure of the committees of the two chambers is similar in order to facilitate collaboration. They are the mandate and immunity, constitutional and legal affairs, foreign affairs, defense and security, planning and budget, industry, transport, and trade, agriculture and food, culture and education, and social policy committees.

[Kornilov] Who nominates whom as a deputy and how? And who, consequently, do the deputies represent in the Federal Assembly?

[Indra] Here we must speak of the role of the National Front which exists in the CSSR. It represents all political parties and public organizations. The CPCZ leads the front.

The National Front is the instrument of the democratic integration of all progressive forces of Czechoslovak society. Elections in our country are carried out on its basis. Proceeding from this, the CPCZ and the other parties and public organizations of the National Front can nominate candidates. Here nomination proposals are discussed at the candidates' place of work and place of residence. The National Front organs register the candidates, organize the course of the elections, and lead the work of the election commissions. I should like to stress that our electoral laws have been operating unchanged since 1971. We are now weighing possibilities for making changes to them in accordance with our conditions. Here we are following the changes in this sphere which are taking place in the USSR and the other socialist countries and which are aimed at further developing socialist democracy.

[Kornilov] Czechoslovak parliament has its own traditions and rituals...

[Indra] They are conditioned by the law on the procedure for sessions. Thus, for instance, newly elected deputies must be sworn in in the presence of the entire Federal Assembly. Here is the text of the oath: "I swear by my honor and conscience that I will be loyal to the CSSR and the cause of socialism. I will observe the will and interests of the people, be guided by the constitution and other laws, and assist their implementation." After these words are uttered, the deputy approaches the rostrum. He presents the text of the oath he has signed to a worker of the Federal Assembly chancellery and the latter presents the deputy. The deputy approaches the chair, raises his hand, and says: "I swear." This ritual if, of course, there are newly elected deputies, takes place at the very start of the work of the session. Or take yet another tradition: Guests are invariably present at joint sessions. This rule is limited by the number of seats in the main hall of sessions. Various specialists, deputies of national committees, groups of working people (for instance from the places where "deputy studies" have been held), students, schoolchildren, and so forth are invited here. Many guests come on personal invitations from individual deputies (there is no limit here, each person can invite someone). Journalists accredited to the Federal Assembly are also invited to all sessions of the chambers. They are given the necessary materials in advance, including not only draft laws but also amendments to them.

[Kornilov] Czechoslovakia is a country in whose history bourgeois democracy has played a considerable part. Has the present Federal Assembly preserved any of its elements in its activity?

[Indra] In my opinion the role of bourgeois democracy in our country's history is quite often overestimated. After all, the bourgeois republic existed only 20 years. But nonetheless we have not lost all forms of the parliamentary democracy of that time. Thus, parliament's right to express confidence or no confidence in the government has been retained. Even today clubs for the deputies of individual parties (which now belong to the National Front) operate in the Federal Assembly. Their aim is to serve to unite the positions of party members on the questions under discussion. Alongside these clubs there is also a group of nonparty deputies, and its mission is similar.

[Kornilov] Do you feel the need for certain constitutional changes in the CSSR? For instance, is a new Fundamental Law being prepared?

[Indra] Yes. This need is dictated by two reasons. First, we must unite in a single document a number of constitutional laws which are of independent importance or somehow change or supplement the CSSR Constitution adopted 28 years ago. And second we must enshrine the fundamental changes connected with restructuring. The 17th CPCZ Congress in 1986 set the task of adopting a new constitution and work on this is being performed comprehensively and painstakingly.

Here we are appraising both our positive and our negative experience and paying great attention to the development of constitutional acts in the fraternal socialist states. There is no doubt that the 19th All-Union Party Conference will help us in this matter. After all I believe that constitutional changes in our country will affect primarily the political and economic systems and our citizens' position in society and they will serve the further flowering of socialist democracy and the consolidation of our peoples' federal alliance. Are the tens and hundreds of very interesting fresh ideas expressed by the Soviet Communists at their forum not devoted to this?

LCY Ponders Albanian Nationalism in Kosovo

PM0508140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "LCY Central Plenum Decision"]

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug—The most reliable guarantee of the normalization of the situation in the Kosovo Autonomous Province is to strengthen the unity of joint actions by Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and representatives of the other peoples and ethnic groups living in this province in the struggle for the LCY's policy and for fraternity and unity. This is said in a 29 July LCY Central Committee Plenum decision distributed by TANJUG yesterday.

The LCY Central Committee noted that the crucial tasks in the normalization of the situation in the province are being implemented slowly, only partially, and inadequately. National relations in the province are deteriorating and national isolation is intensifying. The activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists is not ceasing.

The consistent implementation in the province of the policy of national equality of rights is of great significance for the implementation of party decisions on Kosovo. The document emphasizes in particular the duty of party members to be even more persistent and consistent in waging the struggle for the consolidation of fraternity and unity and Yugoslav socialist patriotism among the province's young people. It is necessary to enlist young people in the implementation of cultural, entertainment, and sports events and the organization of young people's shock construction projects. Communists working in the educational system, particularly those of Albanian nationality, must participate more actively in exposing from a Marxist standpoint the ideology and aims of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Republic League of Communists Central Committees, provincial and municipal committees, and the Yugoslav People's Army LCY Organization Committee must critically analyze their own activity in implementing party decisions on Kosovo. Everyone who has not carried out his set tasks must be called to account, even to the extent of dismissal from office and expulsion from the League of Communists. The LCY Central Committee instructs the LCY Central Committee Presidium to carry out a

critical analysis of its own activity and the work of commissions and all members of the LCY Central Committee who have had specific assignments in the implementation of the operational program for the normalization of the situation in Kosovo and to recommend appropriate measures to the Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee instructs Communists working in the mass media to provide the public with objective, complete, and regular information on the situation in Kosovo.

Briefs

SED Delegation Pays Visit

Under the plan for interparty links between the CPSU and the SED, a delegation of SED party workers was in the Soviet Union from 1 to 5 August. It was led by the head of the SED Central Committee's Department of Transportation and Communications. The delegation acquainted itself with the forms and methods of work of the CPSU party organizations in rail transport and visited a number of enterprises and research establishments. [Summary] [*LD0508234888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Aug 88*]

West Europe

Reaction, Comment on Rust Release

PM0708132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "With the Speed of Lightning. FRG Public Reaction to the USSR's Humane Act in Respect of M. Rust"]

[Text] Bonn—The news that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision to release ahead of term the 20-year old amateur pilot Mathias Rust, serving a just sentence for illegally crossing the border, violating air traffic rules, and displaying hooligan behavior coupled with special brazenness—landing his aircraft in the center of Moscow—spread right across the FRG with truly the speed of lightning.

An army of reporters converged on the airport at Frankfurt-am-Main last Wednesday night. However, the television crews, photographers, and the journalistic fraternity, with the exception of one lucky cameraman, had to leave empty-handed. The aircraft which had arrived on a scheduled Lufthansa flight from Moscow did not taxi up to the airport building as usual, but stayed on the tarmac several hundred meters away. Only a small group of people was allow to approach.

Rust was quickly bundled into a minibus, which—as a commentator for FRG television's second channel noted ruefully—"vanished in an unknown direction."

The journalists were hoping that Rust, capturing once again—but for how long?—the limelight in the press and on the air waves, would say a few words, and that photographers and cameramen would be able to record his arrival. But none of it came off. The young guy who only a few hours before had been sitting in a prison cell came down the aircraft ramp with a frozen smile. No gesture, no greeting, not a word... Everything was "nabbed" as the television commentator put it, "by the influential Hamburg illustrated weekly STERN which bought every one of Rust's words lock, stock, and barrel, and apparently also his gestures and facial expressions. But that, ultimately, is an affair which concerns only STERN and Rust himself. Rust, just like STERN, appears to be in need of money, and pretty big money at that. The Hamburg air club on whose aircraft Rust made the trip to Moscow intends to demand a repayment of its costs incurred for the return of the aircraft from Moscow to Hamburg, for the illegal flight along a flight path that had not been agreed, and for the availability of the Cessna for almost a year during which the club could not use it. In addition Rust is more than likely to face trial. They now want to try him in a West German court for violation of flight rules.

All these upcoming vicissitudes of fate are of course a personal affair of Rust and his family. His mother Monika, hearing about her son's pardon over the radio yesterday, beaming with happiness said only one sentence to the reporters who literally besieged her house: "The Soviet authorities have made a humane gesture."

In government circles, in the Bundestag, in political parties, and also among ordinary FRG citizens the news that Rust has been pardoned and expelled from the USSR met with a favorable, positive response.

H.-D. Genscher, acting head of government, FRG deputy chancellor, and minister of foreign affairs, told journalists that he regards this gesture as proof of the seriousness of the USSR's intentions in respect of the FRG. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary's remarks about the key importance of Soviet-West German relations, Genscher said further, are more than mere words. However, he warned, the favorable outcome of the Rust affair should not "inspire" anyone to repeat this adventure.

Chancellor Kohl, currently on vacation in Austria, let the media know via the official government spokesman that he regards Rust's pardon as a "positive gesture prior to his upcoming visit to Moscow in October."

The Soviet Union, the newspapers write, has again graphically demonstrated the sincerity of its desire to develop and strengthen relations with the FRG on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness, reciprocal respect, and mutual advantage.

NOVOSTI's Falin Interviewed

AU0808143988 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 8 Aug 88 p 26

[Interview with Valentin Falin, chairman of the Executive Committee of the NOVOSTI news agency: "It is Never Too Late to Do Something Good;" date and place not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Falin, in June and July 1987 you announced that Mathias Rust would be released in a few days' time. Why was this extended to 14 months?

FALIN: Your question shows how right Goethe was when he said: "If people knew how seldom they are understood the way they want to be understood, they would rather keep silent."

In June and July 1987 I believed that the Rust case would be decided in the near future. On one occasion I even used the expression "possibly during the next few hours." At that time the investigation proceedings had come to an end, and the competent authorities had to decide whether they would take the case to court or suspend proceedings through administrative measures.

Finally the view was adopted that the consideration of all circumstances required legal proceedings. The severe sentence—others thought it was relatively lenient—was based on facts and documents that were confirmed in the course of the proceedings.

Of course, the court also took the special traits of Mathias Rust's personality into consideration, but not to the full extent, as his lawyer Yakovlev pointed out, and which is also my opinion.

SPIEGEL: Rust's landing in Moscow's Red Square led to the dismissal of three Soviet marshalls and other high-ranking officers from their posts. Do you consider the pardoning of Rust inappropriate in relation to these measures?

FALIN: It would not be correct to directly or indirectly construct something that is described as "collective responsibility" in our judicial system. In this case, every one of them was responsible for his own actions. The Soviet officers, about whom we talk here, were punished for their offenses.

SPIEGEL: Rust was sentenced to 4 years of labor camp by the Moscow court. Why was he never sent to a labor camp but allowed to stay in the Moscow prison?

FALIN: I am not in the possession of detailed information and can therefore give no clear answer. The desire not to subject the young man to additional psychological stress was apparently of decisive importance in this.

SPIEGEL: Immediately following Rust's landing in Moscow, statements were made that Rust was not an individual perpetrator but that he had acted on behalf of others. Do you still stick to this accusation?

FALIN: Such statements have indeed been made. They were partly quoted from FRG press commentaries and from versions of your experts. I have the impression that some of these versions were played into our hands in order to lead the investigations into a wrong direction. Usually this entails a loss of time, with all the consequences resulting therefrom.

When proceedings were opened, the version of a "plot" had already been dropped. There was no mention of it in the indictment and the sentence. After the trial, too, no serious circumstances were revealed which would indicate that Rust was a puppet of somebody else.

SPIEGEL: Every prominent visitor to Moscow, including President von Weizsaecker, requested the Soviet Union to pardon Rust at an early date. Why was this date chosen for his release?

FALIN: As far as I know, our attitude toward Rust was characterized by balance from the beginning and free from the intention to use his example to teach a "deterring" lesson.

You are asking why this particular date was chosen for Rust's release. The same questions could probably be asked if this decision had been taken 1 or 2 months ago or in a few weeks' time. The punishment is determined—or should be determined—by objective facts. Whether somebody is pardoned, however, depends on purely human points of view.

No matter what the reason was, for my part, I am content that in the Rust case the Soviet side did not adhere to an old tradition according to which a sentence may only be revised when half of it or at least one-third have been served. It is never too late to do something good.

SPIEGEL: Chancellor Kohl wants to open a "new chapter in German - Soviet relations" during his visit to Moscow in October. Do you consider Mathias Rust's release some kind of contribution from the Soviet side?

FALIN: The USSR, for its part, wants to improve relations between our states as far as possible. The release of Mathias Rust is, of course, an act of goodwill. But I am still opposed to playing up the Rust case to a problem in interstate relations, even if this assumes a positive touch in the case of Rust's release.

SPIEGEL: Would it be possible today for a second Mathias Rust to penetrate Soviet territory and even land in Red Square, or would he be shot down?

FALIN: Red Square has long been turned into a pedestrian zone and is closed to any kind of traffic, including air traffic. I hope very much that this fact will be observed by everybody in the future, without exception, so that is becomes superfluous to adopt extreme measures to maintain an elementary level of order.

As the Germans like to put it: Order is necessary. I have no reason to challenge the correctness of this idea.

Agricultural Cooperation Contract With Bavaria
LD0808152988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Munich, 8 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gulkin reports:

"Bavaria greets the RSFSR"—such posters were often to be seen by the members of a Soviet delegation, headed by D.YE. Tsyvarev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Gosagroprom [state agriculture and industrial committee] during their week-long stay in this federal state in the FRG. In this time, the delegation has visited enterprises and peasants' farms, has familiarized itself with the processes of production and processing of farm produce, and has had talks with representatives of Bavarian business circles. The chief result of the visit has been the signing of a contract for cooperation between the RSFSR Gosagroprom and the Bavarian Farmers' Association.

This document, noted Gustav Suehler, president of the association, registers the principles of cooperation between the partners in the most varied fields: livestock farming, arable farming, biotechnology, the processing, storage, and packaging of food products, etc. Alongside this, it is envisaged to implement a reciprocal exchange of farming experts and to stage scientific seminars and symposiums. Proposals already exist for formation of joint ventures, which is viewed by our country's business circles and politicans as a very interesting new form of cooperation.

This is the first time that such a contract has been signed between representatives of the agrarian sector of Bavaria and the Soviet republic, G. Suehler stressed. The high professionalism and businesslike attitude of the partners in the talks has made it possible to draft, agree on, and sign the document that is now the basis of developing cooperation in a short time.

The significance of this contract, the Bavarian spokesman stressed, is not limited to the purely economic sphere, it also makes an important contribution to the cause of strengthening mutual understanding between the two countries and their peoples.

Foreign Policy Experts on Austria, EC
AU0808104988 Vienna PROFIL in German No 32/8 August 88 pp 16,17

[Michael Siegert report: "We Are Very Concerned About This"]

[Text] Aleksander Bondarenko is a nice, 65-year-old gentleman. He looks down on Moscow from a window on the tenth floor of the Foreign Ministry, a Stalinist "confectionary building" in Smolensk Square. Smiling mildly, he watches the motley crowd of young painters and singers in old Arbat Street, which leads from the Foreign Ministry to the city center. When he looks at the lower turrets of his giant cake, he sees rusty cross beams and all kinds of debris lying around. Above the entrance, wire grilles are mounted to catch any parts of the marble palace that might come crashing down.

The diplomat, who was born in Kazakhstan, is half Russian and half Ukranian and has been the ministerial official in charge of foreign policy toward the German-speaking countries in Western Europe—including Liechtenstein and West Berlin—for 15 years [chief of the Third European Department].

Asked whether the Soviet Government has already adopted a definite attitude with regard to Austria's potential full EC membership or whether it is still pondering the issue, Bondarenko did not answer with a clear yes during the interview in mid-July. He says: "We have already made up our opinion, pretty much." The Soviet attitude is not a result of any specific decision but of the "objective circumstances."

Bondarenko: "I would say that our main interest is for the Republic of Austria to remain a politically independent state and to continue to adhere to the state treaty and to permanent neutrality."

The Soviet Union does not object to an expansion of the relations with the EC. In Bondarenko's view, full membership would, however, "put into question Austria's successful policy of neutrality." "We are very concerned about this," in particular, in the interest of all of Europe.

Austria would be forced by the EC to "gradually deviate from its policy of neutrality." In the case of full membership, it would have to "accept all the obligations of a member." Could we not avoid this with a reservation with regard to our neutrality? "There will be no exception." Even if something like this were to be formally granted, the Soviet diplomat doubts "that this would have any practical significance."

For Bondarenko, the EC also has a military aspect. He refers to the latest CDU Congress, where Alfred Dregger, head of the CDU Bundestag group, stressed this aspect. The objection that things would look bad for German-Soviet relations if Mr Dregger were in charge makes the FRG expert smile diplomatically.

He also does not accept the example of Ireland as a neutral state in the EC. Even if Ireland is permitted certain independent actions—"Austria is ten times as important as Ireland."

The idea that the Soviet Union would benefit if all neutral states were to join the EC and thus strengthen the non-NATO element does not yield a positive result for Bondarenko: "Unfortunately, this is not a realistic idea." The NATO countries FRG, France, and Great Britain would play a dominating role. Sweden and Switzerland have already asserted that they will not join the EC.

Even the example of the NATO state Greece, whose foreign policy is very much to the liking of the Soviet Union, cannot outweigh NATO domination in Bondarenko's view. The situation would be different only "if the Blocs were abolished." He considers it impossible that Austria might simultaneously join the EC and CEMA—practically as a bridge between the Blocs—"the EC would never permit this." The department head is thinking along the same lines as EFTA's. "If Austria leaves EFTA," he reasons, "it will create a difficult situation for these states." If, on the other hand, the EFTA countries stick together, "they will make it; alone it is difficult to manage this."

Bondarenko thinks that Austria would even have some leverage against the EC. "The EC also needs foreign trade relations, for instance, for the transportation of their goods through Austria." From Moscow it is impossible to notice that, in this area, we are not able to push through even the most vital considerations for the environment. The expert on Europe says that Austria, as a small country, has every chance because it is able to react to technical progress more flexibly.

The Soviet Union would lend us support in any case. Bondarenko points to negotiations on joint ventures which are already being conducted and where some contracts have been signed. In conclusion he notes: "We do not want to dictate, to march into the country. But, tell me, do you think that we would have withdrawn from Austria in 1955 if you had not declared neutrality?"

One level above Bondarenko is Vadim Loginov, former USSR deputy foreign minister and recently appointed Anatoliy Dobrynin's deputy as chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee. He, too, is a nice, elderly gentlemen from Gromyko's school. Asked by PROFIL about his attitude toward Austria's joining the EC, he said at the end of July in Vienna: "This is a hypothetical issue. I think that before the Austrian Parliament takes such a step it will consider whether this decision is compatible with the state treaty and the law on neutrality, and whether Austria wants to lose face in the world."

Loginov points out that the EC exercises "strict discipline." A small state has hardly any chance to follow its own line.

"One could say much more about this," Loginov says, obviously playing down the issue. "I trust the reason and the prudence of the Austrian people and their representatives."

Listeners 'Duped' by BBC Russian Service

PM0508153188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 32, 6-12 Aug 88 (Signed to Press 4 Aug 88) p 3

[Letter from the Kharitonovs of Tallinn: "Our Contact With the BBC"]

[Text] We beg you to publish this letter of ours to ensure that there are no other dunderheads like us. The thing is that when my wife and I were listening to shortwave radio 1 March this year, we came across the BBC wavelength broadcasting in Russian to listeners in the USSR. The music program "Perekati-Pole" began, in which the presenter, who called himself Sam Jones, acquainted listeners with the emigre singer V. Tokarev. Since we happened to hear this singer's songs and (it must be admitted) liked some of them, we listened to the whole program.

In the program the presenter stated several times that anyone wishing to receive an autographed photograph of Tokarev could telephone the BBC studio in London 2 March, and they would be sent a photograph. At the same time, the presenter also gave the telephone number. My wife and I have never been abroad and have never had occasion to telephone abroad. Therefore we were curious to find out what would happen if we telephoned. At approximately 5 o'clock the next evening we ordered the call from our apartment (!), and almost at once the call was answered by someone with a voice similar to that of the program presenter. After making a note of our address, he began asking whether we had liked the program. But he ducked an answer when we asked if he had received many calls and started asking questions about audibility and whether we listen to other stations. The conversation took 6 minutes. At the end of the call the speaker promised to send a photograph. Of course, we naively expected to receive it soon, but it is already July and there is no photograph. Only now do we realize that we swallowed the bait. This is the way in which information on zones of reliable and bad radio reception and, of course, social information is gathered. We are not offended because we did not receive what was promised but because we then had to pay for our stupidity—a 1-minute telephone call to London costs R3. We felt like ringing again and saying something that a radio service that prides itself on its objectivity and honesty ought not to hear, but then we thought again—it was a pity to throw good money after bad over such a trifle. And now, having thought about the fact that we might not be the only people to have been duped in this way, we have decided to appeal to everyone through ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: "Do not trust the 'voice' from London!"

P.S. I am a repairman at the "Volta" Plant, and my wife is an accountant in a medical-sanitary unit.

[Signed] The Kharitonovs, Tallinn

Latin America & Caribbean

Shultz Escapes Assassination Bid in Bolivia

LD0808165588 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 8 TASS—An AP correspondent reports from Bolivia that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz narrowly escaped an assassination attempt on Monday when a bomb exploded near his motorcade. The bomb went off on the outskirts of the Bolivian capital as Shultz and his party were driving in from the airport. The explosion occured seconds after Shultz' car went by. There were no injuries, said the correspondent who witnessed the blast.

The U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in Bolivia in the course of his nine-country Latin American tour.

Contras Getting 'Millions' in U.S. Aid

LD0808175888 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 8 TASS—In the past year anti-government groups in Nicaragua received millions of dollars from the CIA and private U.S. right-wing organizations within the purposeful campaign to destabilize the situation in the country. Referring to State Department officials, the UPI agency reports that this operation was initiated by Richard Melton, the former U.S. ambassador in Managua, who was expelled from the country by the Nicaraguan authorities.

Melton understood right away that if the USA wanted to score a success, it should supplement contra actions with efforts of home opposition, the agency quotes the words of an American diplomat who wished to remain unidentified. In line with this plan U.S. diplomats started expanding vigorously their contacts with opposition [as received], offering it financial, technical and moral support.

This operation was intensified last summer after the signing of the Guatemalan agreements on a peaceful settlement in Central America. According to an admission of U.S. officials, the Nicaraguan political opposition was "weak and seriously split" at the time. The U.S. State Department and the CIA took a decision to step up actions of anti-government forces in Nicaragua. The CIA allocated between 10 and 12 million dollars from its secret "political fund" to finance this operation.

Various right-wing organizations, such as the National Support Foundation set up by the U.S. Congress, were also sources of rendering cash, technical and political (?advance) to the Nicaraguan opposition. This year the foundation allocated 668,000 dollars to aid (?Nicaraguan) opposition groups. This money, often handed over through other organizations, was used, among other things, to finance the opposition Nicaraguan press. A considerable part of funds is brought to Nicaragua by smuggling, including members of U.S. congressional delegations visiting Nicaragua.

Mexico City August 8 TASS—The U.S. aggressive actions against Nicaragua undermine the process of a peaceful settlement in Central America and lead to a further aggravation of the situation in the region, said Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. In an interview with journalists during his private visit to Mexico, Miguel D'Escoto denounced the U.S. intention to authorize contras new appropriations for the war against the Nicaraguan people who defend sovereignty and independence of their country. The very fact of debating by the U.S. Congress the question of granting multimillion aid to gangs of Somozan counter-revolutionaries is a blatant violation of rules and principles of international law, pointed out the Nicaraguan minister.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives in Ecuador

LD0808141188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Quito, 8 Aug (TASS)—A USSR delegation headed by Z. Kamalidenov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived here to take part in the events connected with the inauguration of R. Borja Cevallos as president of Ecuador.

At the international airport of the Ecuadoran capital, the Soviet delegation was met by Blasco Penaherrera Padilla, the country's vice president. Welcoming the members of the delegation to Ecuadoran soil on behalf of the people and Government of Ecuador, he indicated that their visit and contacts with Ecuadoran state, political, and public figures would serve the cause of further developing and strengthening relations between the Soviet and Ecuadoran peoples. The vice president of Ecuador stressed that in his country great interest is being shown in the process of social and economic transformations occurring in the USSR.

The head of the Soviet delegation thanked the statesmen of Ecuador for the invitation to visit their country and, on behalf of the Soviet people and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed every good wish to the Ecuadoran people.

Political & Social

Nikonov Visits Sverdlovsk, Addresses Aktiv

PM0808161488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Highly Developed, Intensive Agriculture in an Industrial Region"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk, 6 Aug—This year's harvest in the Urals is taking place in difficult weather conditions. This makes it all the more urgent for the region fully to harvest, preserve, and utilize rationally the produce of the fields and to ensure the smooth operation of livestock units. Urgent and crucial measures of both an immediate and a long-term nature in connection with the acceleration of the implementation of the Food Program were examined during the visit to Sverdlovsk Oblast on 3-6 August by V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A meeting of the oblast's party and economic aktiv which took place in Sverdlovsk today analyzed in detail the activity of the agro-industrial complex.

V.N. Romanov, secretary of Sverdlovsk party obkom, delivered a report. Opinions on the question under discussion were put forward by V.D. Kadochnikov, first secretary of Sverdlovsk party gorkom; B.I. Krasnokutskiy, chairman of the Ya.M. Sverdlov Kolkhoz; B.A. Korolev, chief of the Asbest passenger motor transport enterprise; A.V. Aleksankin, chairman of the RSFSR non-Chernozem zone Gosagroprom; V.M. Vlasov, chairman of Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom; V.N. Tarasyuk, team leader at Sverdlovsk No 2 Dairy; L.F. Bobykin, first secretary of Sverdlovsk party obkom; and others.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the participants in the aktiv. He said that the period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum is characterized first and foremost by the profound, comprehensive analysis of the real situation that has developed in the party and country and by intensive theoretical and practical work to improve all aspects of socioeconomic and political life. The words that have entered daily use, like democratization and glasnost, freedom of discussion, social justice, the state based on the rule of law, economic reform, economic autonomy, economic accountability and the lease contract, spiritual renewal, the creative activeness of the individual and society—all these are expressions of the multifaceted restructuring process that started on the Central Committee's initiative and is supported by the party and people. The main aspects of this innovative strategy of renewal and of taking socialism to a fundamentally new level were discussed profoundly and seriously at the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum.

At that plenum, the speaker recalled, Comrade Gorbachev began his analysis of the situation with the practical tasks whose resolution will brook no delay, calling into question the party's holy of holies—unity of word and deed. In Lenin's words, having entered into combat in all salients, we must seek the consistent practical improvement of our affairs, especially those relating to the people's life and well-being. But this is not yet happening everywhere. During the lengthy period known as the "period of stagnation," a patent devaluation of our appeals, slogans, and plans took place. Intentions and wishes were not backed up by painstaking work, and numerous measures of every kind remained on paper. It is necessary in a short space of time to restructure radically the work of party, soviet, and economic organs and their leaders, to strengthen the organizing role in every way, and to study and skillfully support and develop in practice the creative movement of thought and action in the labor collectives. Metaphorically speaking, the present stage of restructuring is the time when the masses' awakened consciousness is converted into the energy of creative activity by everyone.

On the agenda for the present party and economic aktiv is the question of improving food supplies in Sverdlovsk Oblast—that major industrial region of the country where some 5 million people live and work. Along with the problem of housing and the provision of industrial goods and services to the population, this question, the food question, has not been resolved to a high standard and has become problem number one by virtue of its urgency. And it should be stressed that the laggardness is not spasmodic in nature, it has become chronic in the oblast.

Unfortunately, a further increase in the production of output is often linked here solely with new deliveries of resources, which shows the old dependent approach. The level of production achieved does not satisfy the oblast's requirements for basic products, as a result of which a large quantity of meat, milk, canned fruit and vegetables, confectionery, and even mineral water is shipped in.

For instance, an average of 73 kg of meat per head of population is consumed per year, but of this only 37 kg is produced locally, one-third of this using feed obtained from state resources. In the last 2 years per capita meat production in the oblast has increased by 1 kg, and consumption by 3 kg. Milk production has fallen, but consumption has increased by 7 kg.

This dependent orientation is due first and foremost to the fact that party committees and soviet and agricultural organs have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee's demands for a resolute increase in the production of agricultural products and improvement in supplies to the population.

Singling out as the main, vital issue that of ensuring the stability of the labor collectives and leadership cadres of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing industry enterprises, V.P. Nikonov pointed out that an incorrect attitude toward the countryside and the peasant and his work and life has developed historically in the oblast.

How can one agree with a situation where an industrial oblast cannot create the necessary production conditions and normal living conditions for its comparatively small agrarian sector? In 17 years the rural population has fallen by more than 200,000, or 25 percent. Despite the stepping up of the pace of the construction of housing and roads in the countryside, the exodus has not stopped yet, every year 4,000-5,000 people leave the countryside for the cities, which is equivalent to 3 or 4 sovkhozes stopping work. All this happens because there is too big a difference between working and living conditions in the countryside and in the city. The speaker cited figures to confirm this conclusion.

In an industrial oblast like this, agriculture should be industrial too. But in practice the level of comprehensive mechanization in various sectors still leaves something to be desired.

If we take a general look at the help the city gives the countryside, we can see that it is far from meeting its potential. In a year, the work done for the countryside amounts to a total of some R36 million—an extremely insignificant percentage of gross industrial output in the oblast.

The speaker then dwelt on questions of the development of the processing industry. Citing specific examples, he showed that the attention paid to it by local party and economic organs is unsatisfactory.

Work to improve food supplies to the population must begin with a radical change in the attitude to the land.

The oblast has great potential for increasing the production of grain, potatoes, and vegetables. This is indicated by the experience of such leading farms as the Sverdlov kolkhoz in Sysertskiy Rayon, the Chapayev kolkhoz in Alapayevskiy Rayon, the "Borodulinskiy" and "Ordzhonikidzevskiy" sovkhozes, and others. But this experience is not spreading. The lack of proper concern for increasing soil fertility and the slackening of attention toward natural feed land are becoming increasingly acute every year.

The farms produce an extremely inadequate quantity of feed, and even then the quality is often poor. Sowings of high protein crops that give good yields in the oblast are spreading only slowly: pulse crops, rape and coleseed, alfalfa. This retards the development of livestock raising—the oblast's leading agricultural sector.

Measures in the intensification of milk production have produced some results. The milk yield per cow totaled 3,102 kg on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the first time in 1987. But that is still a very low indicator. The oblast must reach higher indicators. Weight gains of cattle during fattening are also low. The oblast's farms suffer enormous losses.

The most realistic and most economical way of increasing milk and meat production, the speaker noted, is to switch the sector resolutely onto an intensive path.

One of the main tasks of the party organizations and party gorkoms, raykoms, and obkoms in the leadership of the agro-industrial complex is the introduction of economic methods of economic management, economic accountability, and various forms of contract, including the lease contract. Every party worker must study the new economic conditions profoundly and recognize the inevitability of a fundamental change in the economy, a change requiring innovative approaches and initiative. Without a cardinal change in the actual organization of labor, without close linkage between work payments for both leaders and ordinary workers and the end results, you cannot rectify the economic situation solely by means of increased supplements to purchase prices.

Sverdlovsk Oblast has its peculiarities. They lie first and foremost in the fact that it is necessary to carry out the profoundest possible integration of the city and the countryside, industry and the agro-industrial complex. It is necessary to set about extensively setting up agro-industrial firms and combines which will operate wholly for a particular city. Initiative, persistence, and the quest for the best solutions should emanate from local workers. It is no use waiting for additional directives and instructions. It is necessary, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, to break boldly with obsolete dogmas and stereotypes, which retard the growth of food resources.

A major reserve for increasing the production of agricultural output lies in personal plots. Despite the fact that the rural population accounts for only a small proportion in the oblast, personal plots last year produced 46 percent of the total volume of potatoes, 23 percent of the milk, and 21 percent of the meat. At the same time the work with them amounts mainly to calls for the development of these plots, and not much is done in practice to create the appropriate material and economic conditions. Measures exist, but they are not implemented in full.

Such reserves for improving food supplies as the development of gardening associations and the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises are not fully utilized, either.

The speaker then dwelt on the scientific backup for the agro-industrial complex. Sverdlovsk Oblast is a major scientific center. Many VUZ's and scientific research and design institutes operate here. However, the powerful intellectual potential is not satisfactorily utilized.

Economic accountability relationships between scientific and production collectives are developing extremely feebly. Not until this year were three science-and-production systems set up: "Kukuruza," "Kartofel," and "Ekonomika." The "Kukuruza" ["Corn"] system includes 64 farms, and the total area of corn cultivated according to grain techniques amounts to only 15 percent of the sowings of this crop. The "Kartofel" ["Potato"] system includes 19 farms—a very small number. Scientific organizers have not been appointed everywhere and motor transport has not been allocated. Nothing can be said as yet about the effectiveness of the science-and-production systems' work.

The party obkom must thoroughly study the activity of scientific institutions and take steps to utilize effectively the enormous scientific potential.

What are the main conclusions and proposals for further increasing the oblast's food resources?

Without the broadest possible involvement of forces and material resources and of the enormous industrial potential, it will be difficult, not to say impossible, to resolve the food problem in a short space of time. Therefore it is necessary not merely to help agriculture, in the usual sense of the word, but to define specific volumes of work and allocations of financial and material resources for all industrial enterprises, construction organizations, and other institutions for the agro-industrial complex. This must be done by the local party and soviet organs, and examined, without fail, in all the labor collectives of industrial enterprises and organizations. It is necessary not to help agriculture purely symbolically, but to allocate the necessary resources and channel them into the resolution of key problems.

Such problems include, first, a resolute change in the economy and social conditions in the countryside. The task is to ensure that the peasant really becomes the master of the land and can fully reveal his experience, knowledge, and talent. This task can be resolved on the basis of the universal, wide introduction of full economic accountability and cost recovery, the contract and the long-term lease, changes in internal production ties within farms, the development of various forms of the cooperative system, and the creation of family livestock units, agro-industrial combines, and agro-industrial firms. It is necessary to do everything to bring people's labor to the forefront and put an end to the alienation of the worker from the means of production, and to ensure that the contract and lease forms of managing agriculture are actively developed everywhere. Supporting and developing this major movement is a vital task for all party committees, every leader, and all Communists.

It is necessary drastically to accelerate the construction of rural housing, sociocultural facilities, schools, hospitals, and roads and provide amenities for all rural settlements. The agricultural worker should receive urban working and living conditions not in theory, but in practice. Therefore it is necessary resolutely to change the orientation of capital investments in the next 2 years and in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Concrete measures should be defined to boost the efficiency of utilization of all arable land.

It is necessary in a short space of time fully to resolve the whole range of questions concerning the construction of new enterprises and the modernization of all the existing enterprises in the food and processing industry. In Sverdlovsk Oblast, these sectors should be among the best in the country. The instructions of the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum on this matter should be fulfilled strictly.

It is important to make effective use of the oblast's mighty industrial potential for the mechanization, automation, and computerization of the entire agro-industrial complex with a view to increasing labor productivity by a minimum of 100-200 percent. Bold, original approaches and decisions and the initiative of science and production workers who are thinking and exploring in this direction must be developed and supported in every way.

The resolution of the food problem in the oblast should become the cause of all the people. It is necessary to involve the entire population of the cities and villages in the implementation of the planned measures for boosting the agrarian sector, the speaker said in conclusion.

During his stay in Sverdlovsk Oblast V.P. Nikonov visited suburban farms and enterprises in the oblast center. At the "Ordzhonikidzevskiy" Sovkhoz, which supplies produce to Sverdlovsk's stores, he studied the production of vegetables under glass. This farm is adopting progressive techniques for the cultivation of various crops, in particular the method of aerohydroponics. Attention was drawn to the need to disseminate this experience, and it was noted that the oblast still makes insufficient use of the potential for extending truck farming under glass so that there is an average of at least 1 square meter of hothouse for each inhabitant. The creation of agro-industrial joint-stock firms, attracting the funds of industrial enterprises, could play a positive role in tackling this task.

In Verkhnepyshminskiy Rayon V.P. Nikonov inquired about work to develop various forms of contract based on the lease principle and about the social and living conditions for workers at farms and enterprises. He inspected the experimental residential settlement of Baltyn, the culture and sports center, and production facilities at the "Verkhnepyshminskiy" Sovkhoz.

In Sverdlovsk the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the "Uralmash" Production Association. At the oldest enterprise of the mid-Urals, the Verkh-Isetskiy Metallurgical Plant, he inspected the fish products shop, where every year an average of 20 kg of fish per worker is produced. At the subsidiary farm of the "Uralelektromed" combine, which is an autonomous subunit of that enterprise, he was shown a hog complex for 2,000 animals, which supplies more than 230 tonnes of meat a year to the workers' tables. The importance was noted of utilizing industrial enterprises' reserves in order to increase their own food resources in every way.

The need for efficient utilization of the oblast's scientific potential for the development of the agro-industrial complex was spoken of at a meeting with scientists of the Urals Agricultural Scientific Research Institute. On the institute's "Istok" experimental and production farm, V.P. Nikonov studied the work of a lease collective for the cultivation of perennial grasses.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited an exhibition of machines and equipment for the agro-industrial complex manufactured at local industrial enterprises.

He visited remote rayons—Talitskiy and Pyshminskiy. At the "Talitskiy" sovkhoz cattle fattening complex a frank discussion took place on the problems of improving management and introducing new forms of integration in the rayon component of the agro-industrial sector. Attention was drawn to the creation of production structures that unite subunits on a cooperative basis at both farm and rayon level.

At the 8 March kolkhoz in Talitskiy Rayon V.P. Nikonov talked with lease contract stockmen from the Belo-Yelanskoye dairy unit about the economic principles of organization of their work. The need was stressed to overcome the formal approach to this important matter and give real point to the lease system, which presupposes the direct material interest of everyone—from the ordinary worker to the leader and specialists—in high end results with significant savings in expenditure. He inspected sowings of grain and feed crops. In the cornfields the talk touched on how it is necessary actively to introduce into practice the experience that exists in neighboring regions of growing this crop by grain techniques with a view to increasing the nutritional value of the silage procured.

In conversations with inhabitants of the cities and villages of the oblast, questions were raised concerning food self-sufficiency for the region, the establishment of efficient supplies of food products, a rational structure of consumption, the stepping up of the struggle for a sober way of life, and the improvement of social and living conditions in the countryside.

In the party organizations of the labor collectives, the CPSU Central Committee secretary discussed questions of the forthcoming report and election campaign in the party and the restructuring of the country's party and state apparatus in the light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied on his tour by L.F. Bobykin, first secretary of Sverdlovsk party obkom, and V.M. Vlasov, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Razumovskiy Tours Novosibirsk, Urges 'Renewal'
PM0808153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Giving Restructuring Dynamism and Depth"]

[Text] The practical tasks of cementing the marriage between the ideas of restructuring and the affairs of every party organization and every working collective were focused on during the tour of Novosibirsk Oblast 3-6 August by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The exhilarating flow of ideas and creative quest is a concrete manifestation of the increasingly broad involvement of all strata of Soviet society in the renewal processes, it was noted during meetings with working people. There was a detailed exchange of opinions on ways of accelerating scientific-technical progress at the machine-building plant's shops. G.P. Razumovskiy asked about the startup of production of new generation equipment, the switch to economic methods of management, and the way social problems are being tackled. He visited workers' dining rooms and snack bars and the sports complex. He familiarized himself with primary party organizations' preparations for the report-and-election campaign.

At the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department's Akademgorodok, special attention was paid to problems associated with further advances in fundamental research, the development of advanced technologies, and the training of scientific cadres. At the Institute of Cytology and Genetics and the Institute of Geology and Geophysics the CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with scientific studies geared to the accelerated development of Siberia's productive forces and the effective utilization of the vast territory's natural resources.

In the experimental fields of the Scientific Research Institute of Plant Growing and Breeding, where there are 70,000 grain crop breeding plots, there was a discussion about progress in the fulfillment of the program to provide Siberian farmers with local varieties. There was a discussion of ways of making breeding work more effective.

In his speech to the oblast party aktiv, G.P. Razumovskiy stressed that there has been another milestone in current affairs and plans for the future, in everything

that Communists are busy with today and to which they are devoting their energy and knowledge. This milestone is the ideas and decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The decisions were fleshed out in a concrete program of practical actions by the party Central Committee July plenum.

The conference confirmed the correctness and productiveness of the April course and demonstrated the party's and people's resolve to expand and deepen restructuring and ensure its irreversibility. The change in the entire social atmosphere, the first steps in the materialization of the ideas of renewal, and the Soviet people's growing support for the party's restructuring course are the chief politicals result of the 3-year period we have lived through. But today it is necessary to go further and implement the party's strategic line in specific ways in all spheres of society's life. It is necessary to organize party committees' work in line with the conference guidelines and ensure that their fulfillment is the fulcrum of the work of all party organizations and all state and public institutions. Greater efficiency, greater initiative, more specific deeds and real results—these are the principal demands today.

The Novosibirsk Oblast party organization is a major, outstanding detachment of the CPSU. It is making a substantial contribution to the common cause of the party and our country. If you compare the situation 3 years ago with the situation today you find that a great deal has been done. But if you look at what has been achieved from the viewpoint of the demands of the times, if you judge it by the chief criterion—that is, by people's living standard—obviously not enough is being done. It is important now to focus attention on issues where laggardness has been permitted, issues concerning vitally important aspects of the oblast party organization's activity.

Of course, the food problem is in the forefront. It is very worrying that despite the CPSU Central Committee's constant attention and the assistance that is being given to the oblast there have been no significant advances in the supply of food commodities for the population. The oblast's agro-industrial complex continues to operate unsteadily, and progress in increasing agricultural product resources and the provision of food for the population has been insignificant.

It has to be said, the speaker continued, that the oblast has made many decisions on these issues. In the past 3 years the obkom and oblispolkom alone have made more than 30. But nearly all of them have not yet been carried out. Clearly, a great deal depends on the attitude toward the job and on the leadership's competence. Moreover, some comrades simply cannot grasp the fact that commands and orders will not increase the quantity of products, put more products on store shelves, or widen the range of products.

No one can be happy with this situation. There is an urgent need for substantial, appreciable results in the solution of the food problem. Now that all the knots have been unraveled and kolkhozes, sovkhozes, rayons, and oblasts have been given the broadest possible rights and opportunities to increase the production of crop-farming and livestock products, delays in the implementation of the projected measures, any type of bureaucratic obstacle, and the reluctance to work in the new way are particularly intolerable.

In order to achieve success in improving the food situation it is necessary, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed, to provide broad scope for producers' independence and responsibility and change people's attitude toward labor. The main thing here is to create conditions where peasants really do become masters of the land and are really able to use their knowledge, strength, and abilities. Practice is demonstrating that the lease contract and other effective forms of labor organization and incentives are the quickest and surest way to achieve food sufficiency. The example of a whole series of farms in your oblast shows that with informal use of these new forms labor productivity increased 2-3 times over, and even more. The paramount task today for the obkom, its bureau, and the party gorkoms and raykoms is to eliminate all barriers in the way of their universal application.

It is necessary to resolutely address social problems too, G.P. Razumovskiy stressed. Working people expect from the oblast leaders not just correct, self-critical words and statements on this score but real, practical steps and concrete, appreciable changes for the better. It is necessary to start with what is needed at the moment to meet working people's needs and compare this with what has been done. People must be given clear, convincing, and truthful replies which are not out of step with what is actually happening. Then belief will assert itself and there will be an upsurge of energy in the implementation of our plans and the tasks of restructuring.

Novosibirsk is the acknowledged scientific and cultural center of Siberia. Its external appearance, culture, and quality of maintenance, the operation of its streets, buildings, and city transport, and the standard of services for the people are an example to other regions. The oblast must sharply accelerate housing construction in order to implement the programmatic task set by the congress: to provide housing for every family by the year 2000. To this end it is necessary to utilize every opportunity and exploit all reserves, which includes developing the economic method of construction, housing cooperatives, and youth housing complexes and creating the requisite conditions for individuals to build houses.

The provision of consumer goods and services is a vitally important matter. This problem appears to be constantly on the agenda in the oblast; there is a good program and all manner of conferences and exhibitions are being held. But there are still too many general discussions and appeals and not enough specific, day-to-day work and

exactingness on the part of the obkom bureau and its departments. In the past 2 years the oblast has even lost ground in the production of consumer goods per ruble of earnings.

The conclusion must be that there is a lack of consistency and persistence in the solution of this burning question. And when this link is broken an inevitable discrepancy develops between what was promised and what has been accomplished. It is necessary to increase soviets' and labor collectives' commitment to increasing the production of goods for the region's consumers. A more active effort must also be made to develop the cooperative movement and individual labor activities, that is, everything that helps to meet people's needs and makes their lives easier.

An analysis of the situation in the oblast relating to implementing the course toward new methods of production management, organization, and incentives shows that the intricacy and complexity of the processes associated with this are underestimated by party and economic cadres. Enterprises which have switched to full financial autonomy [khozraschet] and self-financing are producing nearly one-half of the products in the oblast. The new conditions have revealed poor knowledge of economics on the part of some cadres and an inability to apply economic methods of management. At these enterprises the rate of production growth and the rate of labor productivity growth are even lower than in the oblast's industry as a whole. One in four failed to meet its contract deliveries.

Yet all the industrial enterprises are supposed to be working in the new economic conditions as of next year, the speaker noted. The simple conclusion is that it is necessary to really address economics and bring the principles of the reform to every primary labor collective and every working person. Party organizations and labor collectives' councils must master modern approaches to production organization in order to sharply increase people's commitment to maximum end results, to completely overcome leveling, and to achieve effective application of the principle of pay according to quantity and, in particular, quality of labor. In no way can the situation where people can get away with bad work be tolerated any longer. In the spirit of the decisions of the party conference, it is necessary to work more actively and more boldly to improve the structure of national economic management, to simplify the management apparatus, and to monitor strictly how the demands of the laws on the state enterprise (association) and the cooperative system are being observed. Also, not to dictate, not to fetter initiative, but, of course, to ask questions too.

It is necessary to take a broad new look at the problem of exploiting the scientific-technical potential in light of the present-day demands and opportunities, to seek effective ways of combining the interests of scientists, designers, and practical experts, and to provide the opportunity for them to display their talent and initiative on the basis of the best Soviet and world experience.

At the 19th all-union party conference and the Central Committee July plenum there was a major, principled discussion of the state of affairs in our party house, the content of committees' activity in the new conditions, and the style and methods of the party's performance of its vanguard role in restructuring. There was impartial criticism of party committees which have been slow to restructure their work and master new approaches to the solution of vital problems, and have been putting a brake on change. Many people, as is felt particularly acutely today, lack the willingness and ability to work in conditions of extensive glasnost, complete openness, and attention to public opinion. All these shortcomings are in many respects typical. And given a self-critical attitude toward work, it is possible to find them in the activities of the party obkom and other oblast party committees too. So the discussion initiated at the conference should be viewed in relation to one's own practice, and the urgent practical conclusions should be drawn.

The party Central Committee sees local party committees as the headquarters of restructuring, G.P. Razumovskiy went on. For them to fully accord with this lofty designation they must be able to work by political methods and to have mastered the entire arsenal of democracy and glasnost.

In connection with the implementation of the reform of the political system, party committees and all party cadres are faced with the task of clearly delimiting the functions of party and state bodies. And this must be done right now, today. It means above all doing away once and for all with the practice whereby party committees usurp the roles of soviets and economic bodies.

The chief means whereby party committees and organizations influence the solution of economic-political and social tasks and the entire course of restructuring must be direct work with people, among the masses. This is a very important aspect, the living soul of political leadership. But sometimes, in the activity of party committees and our party cadres, it is given a back seat and replaced by a bureaucratic, desk-bound style of leadership. Some party cadres have lost the taste for and skills of work with people. Many are more inclined to hold sessions and conferences, to formulate and issue instructions, but are quite helpless when they have to conduct an actual dialogue with people and convince them of something. This aspect must be given most serious attention. In all party committees things must be arranged in such a way that secretaries and all working people in the apparatus spend more time among the masses and in party organizations and labor collectives than in their offices.

In connection with the development of restructuring in all spheres and the democratization of life in labor collectives and in society in general, the intensification

and comprehensive improvement of primary party organizations' activity acquire special significance from the viewpoint of intensifying the party influence on these processes. This is the key to the solution of many vital problems of party work.

Party committees face serious and crucial tasks in connection with the next reports and elections in party organizations. It must be fully borne in mind that they will be taking place in totally new conditions and will be of an entirely new character. Party committees must do all they can to ensure that the report-and-election campaign is held in exactly the way the 19th party conference and Central Committee July plenum planned. The content of the discussion during the campaign must be determined by the vital problems of the present stage of restructuring and be free from pretentious phraseology and rhetoric. It must be steeped in the healthy spirit of realism, self-criticism, and Bolshevik noncomplacency.

The election process must be enriched, G.P. Razumovskiy said in conclusion, by all the advanced elements that have become part of the practice of party democracy of late. We must not overlook the enormous significance of the cadre aspect of reports and elections. Every effort must be made to create all the conditions for the election of true leaders for the party committees. Party committees and party organizations have no right to miss the opportunity and cling to the old approaches. The report-and-election campaign must bring to the forefront a combative, mobilized party aktiv that is ready to fight for restructuring, for renewal. It is important that the revolutionary, democratic atmosphere of the 19th party conference should be a distinct feature of party meetings and conferences.

G.P. Razumovskiy went to the "Krasnoyarskiy" Sovkhoz and "Bolshevik" Kolkhoz, where he acquainted himself with the way rural party organizations have joined in work on implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and increasing the activeness of Communists and all rural workers in improving the food situation. During the meeting with rural workers much attention was paid to the creation of conditions that strengthen people's sense of being masters of the land, to the practice of lease contracts, and to the work experience of intensive labor collectives. The CPSU Central Committee secretary asked about the rate of housing construction, including individual construction, the conditions for running personal plots, and the status of and prospects for the rural sphere and medical services.

In Novosibirsk G.P. Razumovskiy familiarized himself with the work of the subway and visited a dairy, some stores, and the market. During meetings and conversations with the city dwellers there was a discussion of the state of trade in food and industrial goods and the work of consumer services.

Flowers were laid at the monument to V.I. Lenin and the monument of glory to Siberian soldiers.

G.P. Razumovskiy was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom First Secretary V.V. Kazarezov and Oblispolkom Chairman V.A. Bokov.

Abalkin's 'Economism,' Policies Disparaged

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[Letter from M. Antonov, candidate of technical sciences, under the rubric "One More Question for Academician L.I. Abalkin": "When the Breakthrough Will Be"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Following the publication of the interview with Academician L. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, (27 July 1988),the editorial office received a letter from scientist M. Antonov in which he expresses disagreement with L. Abalkin's conclusions. We publish this letter as a contribution to the discussion.

No matter how diverse the subject matter of the discussions currently taking place on various aspects of the people's life, nonetheless the greatest interest, particularly following the 19th all-union party conference, is evoked by the country's economic situation. And this is understandable. During the period of stagnation the situation in the economy pleased nobody. Construction projects which required billions in expenditure and subsequently proved unnecessary were thoughtlessly started—and this in conditions when millions of people need housing, rural areas are suffocating for lack of roads, and grassroots culture and social welfare institutions are eking out a pitiful existence. The windows of food and consumer goods stores testify no less eloquently to the lack of economic prosperity. The lion's share of national income growth in recent years has been accounted for not by things that improve people's lives but by a buildup in the stock of unproductive capital and commodities that nobody needs. Our lag behind the leading countries in the field of technology has not been eliminated and in many important areas of scientific and technical progress has even increased. And although in the course of restructuring it has proved possible to halt the growth of crisis phenomena, the required breakthrough is a very long way off.

For decades the public placed a large share of the blame for the deficiencies in economic life on economic science, which preferred to justify, comment on, and propagandize already adopted decisions on the economy's problems than to research and propose new and rational ways to develop it. A succession of leading economic scientists acknowledged that the criticism was just and promised to take resolute measures to overcome the lag in economic science, but time passed and everything went on as before.

This is why I read with such a minutely critical eye the interview which Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, gave to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and other publications after the 19th party conference. He said literally the following: "As for the laggardness of economic science, the question looks quite different today from how it looked a few years ago.... Today it is a question of state planning and economic organs lagging behind the achievements and conclusions of science, of their unpreparedness to restructure their work in line with the recommendations that have already been drawn up. We have a whole series of completed documents that have been submitted to directive organs in relation to the switching of the economy onto an intensive path of development and the general outline for socioeconomic development in the nineties, including the 13th 5-Year Plan period."

What gave L.I. Abalkin the grounds for such an optimistic assertion? Maybe we have experienced a turnaround in socialist political economy? No, L.I. Abalkin himself has repeatedly acknowledged in public that, for example, the competition for the the best textbook on this discipline yielded nothing but mediocrity and primitivism, sometimes with attempts at originality, and did not reveal either brilliant talents or even manuscripts which could be awarded any of the prizes on offer. Admittedly the journal EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI began the publication in its No 7 edition of a political economy textbook written by an authoritative collective of authors headed by USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member V.A. Medvedev. There have already been several broad discussions of it in which the participants, while noting certain improvements in comparison with previous textbooks, also criticized individual shortcomings. The list of authors is again headed (in alphabetical order) by L.I. Abalkin, who admitted when delivering the concluding remarks during a discussion that "we have not managed to make a serious breakthrough in theory," particularly in relation to socialist political economy.

So maybe there has been a turnaround in sector-based economic science? Again no. First, such a turnaround is hardly possible without a radical revision of political-economic concepts; and, second, there is no sign of such a revision; many 19th party conference delegates sharply (and in my view quite rightly) criticized economic science for retarding the restructuring of the national economy by giving confused recommendations on normative payments from enterprise profits to superior bodies (and on other equally vital questions).

So, I repeat, at first glance the optimistic assessment of theoretical economists' scientific input looks extremely strange, to say the least.

L.I. Abalkin rebutted accusations leveled at economic scientists that the national economy has found itself in such a grave situation because of the alleged laggardness of their formulations and described such talk as attempts to make science a "scapegoat" and duck the search for the deep-rooted causes. In his words, the point is that the scientists aren't heeded. For example, they warn that the growth rate of wages must be lower than that of labor productivity, but in practice the reverse is happening.

But precisely this example shows how far economic scientists are to blame. For to this day they have not bothered to work out what labor productivity is. Thus, in railroad transport it is measured in terms of the number of tonne-kilometers per worker involved in shipment operations. If you imagine a situation (not so improbable, incidentally) in which the same freight travels by rail first from west to east and then back again, there is a sharp increase in the volume of shipment work and freight turnover. But if in the process labor productivity grows even many times more rapidly than wages, there is no way the country will get richer. Tonne-kilometers, like the cubic meters of earth dug up during the construction of canals which nobody needs, don't feed the people; on the contrary, the resulting ruin can only get worse.

L.I. Abalkin pins hope on the effectiveness of the economic levers which are to replace administrative levers, and himself acknowledges that many of our people do not want to work better in order to earn more. But it is not enough to observe this, it is necessary to draw the correct conclusion; and the only possible conclusion is extremely uncomfortable for economic scientists: The ideology of "economism" is completely obsolete; today the people must be offered more effective incentives than just growth in wages, and science has proved unprepared for this.

We have reduced many regions of the country to ruin. To continue to conduct social production while pinning your hopes solely on economic methods and criteria means to soon turn your land into a desert. Of course, L.I. Abalkin also acknowledges that "economic science as a whole and socialist political economy first and foremost are today confronted by the need to emerge at a qualitatively new stage. A breakthrough in the theoretical sphere is needed." But it is clear from this same statement that leading economic scientists intend to look for new things in the old area of narrow economic notions.

L.I. Abalkin's speech at the 19th all-union party conference stood out among the others for its detail and attracted universal attention. Essentially it was the only speech to touch on theoretical questions, but in addition to the correct argument that it is necessary to elaborate a modern concept of socialism, the leading economic scientist also expressed far from indisputable—or, rather, hopelessly outdated—arguments.

He began with a picture of the most grave state of the economy: National income growth rates are low, the correct correlation between subdivisions A and B is not being maintained, the successes recorded in resource

saving are much less than during the stagnation years, our laggardness in the main areas of scientific and technical progress is increasing in a threatening manner, the commodity turnover plan is not being fulfilled. As some delegates noted in subsequent speeches, L.I. Abalkin takes a gloomy view of the situation, but where, they ask, is the way out?

At first glance L.I. Abalkin proposed it—switching completely to economic methods of regulation of economic processes and building the country's economic life in strict accordance with the laws of political economy. But this is only an illusion of a way out, in the same way that current socialist political economy is only an illusion of a science concerned with the laws governing the development of the socialist economy, and the party conference debate clearly showed this.

In the Komi republic forests are being barbarically cut down, to such an extent that there is a danger that only empty land will remain there. In many industrial centers you can't breathe because of the harmful emissions from enterprises. Why is this happening? Because it is economically beneficial. I have had occasion to write that in accordance with the yardsticks of modern economic science and practice it is more beneficial to site a new enterprise in an established industrial center than in a small center of population. A big city has a railroad junction, water and energy supply systems, and a great many other things which would have to be created from scratch on a new site. But when the enterprise reaches full capacity (even more so when it is several enterprises) it is usually necessary to modernize the railroad junction, the water and energy supply systems, and the city's utilities and other components of the infrastructure and to build housing for the new workers, which requires enormous expenditure immeasurably exceeding the original saving. But economic science continues to give its blessing to the further concentration of industry, to mega-mania, and has even established a special "law of mass production," and so forth. In a word, so-called objective economic laws derived by political economists have to a large extent come into contradiction with the present-day conditions of the country's development.

In one of his last articles the late Academician V.A. Legasov cited completely different reasons for the grave state of our economy. He noted that everything in the country is currently being restructured, including components of the economy which nobody needs and which only obstruct restructuring. As if answering L.I. Abalkin, V.A. Legasov warned: "It would be naive to believe that you only have to allow economic levers to operate freely and the ruble will do all the rest. No, it is a question of making the transition from the industrial to the technological era, and therefore there is a need today for a permanently operating headquarters for the technological restructuring of the economy. He took as the basis of his concept, which matches the present-day stage of world development much more fully, not economic benefit, not profit, but security in its broadest sense. But these and other similar new principles for the organization of social production, and the objective need for production to be reoriented in the direction of people, have not been grasped by the leading lights of modern economic science.

Even capitalist countries do not have completely economic regulation of economic processes. Nor could we have had such regulation in the past: If we had been strictly guided by economic criteria we would not have created the second coal and metallurgical industry base in the east of the country in the prewar years and would not have implemented other measures aimed at safeguarding our economic independence. Nor can we have such regulation now, because we have to resolve not purely economic tasks (which exist solely in the imagination of economic scientists), but socioeconomic, ecological, and political tasks all at the same time. And our social scientists, particularly economists, have still not created a science for resolving such comprehensive tasks.

But now L.I. Abalkin claims that economic science has outstripped practice and is giving the country's leadership recommendations on the directions of socioeconomic development. You can hardly give instructions on how to develop the economy without first having elaborated a concept of socialism (the academician is still only promising to place the elaboration of this concept at the center of research). Do we really need just any kind of economic growth, any kind of scientific and technical progress? After all, the party has said that we need the kind of restructuring which will ensure that there is more socialism and more democracy. Experience shows that even with high growth rates of national income (which includes, in particular, construction which nobody needs and output which does not get sold) it is possible to still have half-empty shelves in stores, while with almost zero growth but a rational structural restructuring of the economy it is possible to have a good life. But while we are constantly building, for example, we don't know what we are building. And the result is that, while expending incredibly large amounts of resources and funds on the development of the economy, we end up by deepening the imbalances in it and intensifying our laggardness. This is where economic scientists should be looking first and foremost. But they are all computing national income growth rates and capital investment payback times, forgetting the truth expressed way back by V.I. Lenin that if you tackle partial tasks without being clear about the fundamentals you will be forever coming into collision with these fundamentals.

So what is the main reason for the laggardness of economic science? It lies in the profound "economism" of its leading lights, in their self-isolation. In fact the economy, culture, science, art, the army, the church, social organizations, the criminal world, and so forth are only individual aspects of a single whole. And it is impossible to sort out the economy without having restored the shaken pillars of the people's lives.

Our troubles stem from the fact that people have become alienated from the product of their labor and are not free to build their own lives, that they have forgotten how to work conscientiously and proficiently, that they have lost their lofty and uplifting ideal.

What we need at this time is not economists' mathematical equations but a program to save the country, revive the wastelands, clean up the poisoned rivers, plant forests to replace those that have been predatorily destroyed, ensure the country's technological, economic, and political independence, and eradicate the cultural and spiritual-moral decline among broad strata of the people (including the intelligentsia and not excluding scientific figures)—in a word, a program of great works which would motivate the people and spur them to unprecedented accomplishments (they are not being spurred by the promise to add a bit to their wages). This program must be absolutely concrete, precisely identify who is responsible for doing what, and be balanced in terms of requirements and resources. As yet none of our leading economic scientists has even thought about the methodology for the formulation of such a program. They continue to be engaged in drawing up mathematico-economic models of economic processes, solving highly complex equations, obtaining the derivatives from these equations, performing operations on these partial derivatives, and so forth. And there is no chance of convincing them that it is imperative to look beyond the confines of a desiccated, invented system of economic categories and address the study of real life. For in real life the same person, say, spends from 0800 to 1700 hours every working day at work and then becomes a consumer of or contributor to culture, family man, public figure, and so forth, and all these manifestations of his activity in life are indissolubly interconnected. It would be naive, for example, to expect that manifestations of destructive processes in domestic life can be eradicated among the workers with homilies if a worker is a perpetrator of destruction at work. A flourishing economy is possible only in a healthy society, with a people living normal lives, and cannot be created by solving equations linking various economic indicators. To attempt to influence a person only in the labor sphere, and only through his wages, moreover, is equivalent to a mother loving her child only between 0800 and 1700 hours (incidentally, during these hours economic scientists do not love but only "analyze" people). It is the failure to understand this simple truth that has given rise to the untenability of the recommendations of the leading lights of economic science.

Return of Solzhenitsyn's Citizenship Urged

LD0808153688 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] A Soviet literary critic, Yelena Chukovskaya, has come out for returning Soviet citizenship to Nobel Prize winner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Her article was carried by the Moscow weekly BOOK REVIEW.

Solzhenitsyn was stripped of his citizenship and expelled to the West in 1974 following the publication abroad of his book "The Gulag Archipelago."

Now, with the policy of glasnost in the Soviet Union, the issue of publishing his books has been raised on more than one occasion in his home country. In particular the NOVYY MIR magazine intends to publish "Cancer Ward."

Yelena Chukovskaya writes that asking the author for permission to publish his books, it would be proper to also tell him about a repeal of the unfair decision which deprived him of his home country.

News Conference on Interethnic Relations Held

LD0808202588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] There has been a news conference in Moscow on interethnic relations. The Azerbaijani writer (Chengis Guseinov) said the expansion of glasnost and democracy in Soviet society had made it possible to raise ethnic problems which for years had been hushed up.

It was reported at the news conference that the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or parliament, had formed a commission which had already begun its work to resolve the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh. In particular, it was reviewing the status of the autonomous region made up of a predominantly Armenian population but which is included in the Transcaucasian republic of Azerbaijan.

Scientist Discusses Nationality Problems

LD0708143188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1307 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 7 (TANJUG)—Once we thought that we had solved the national problems altogether, but now we can see this is not the case and the rights are not entirely equal in all the republics—Soviet expert for the national question Leokadiya Drobizheva told Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI in an interview.

Drobizheva, who heads the Soviet Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute Department for Social and Psychological Problems in Inter-Nationality Relations, assessed that unrests in the republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan resulted from the wrong national policy that dated back to the 1970s or still earlier.

Answering the question why the democratic processes in the Soviet Union had brought about an escalation of nationalism, she answered that it was the well-known sociological phenomenon that democracy was being accompanied by intensified cultural, economic and social demands.

Drobizheva said that after many decades of silence, now raised also were the questions on Russian domination and on the autonomy of other republics which were increasingly more resisting the central administration in Moscow.

She assessed that small nations, like those in the North Asian section, had to have certain privileges as regards education and the nurturing of culture and language, because, for them, the system of equal opportunity for all was meaningless.

There were also problems with the Russian population, because about 26 million Russians live amongst non-Russian nations and in such places constitute minorities, said Drobizheva. Their children, too, in environments other than Russian, forget their own language, although much more frequent are the reverse situations.

The Russians will have to realize that, with other nations, they can live together only regarding them as equal nations, not acting towards them as "big brothers."

Vezirov Attends Workers Meeting in Azerbaijan

NC0808065888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 5 Aug 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] The newspapers report that a meeting was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee with a group of progressive workers affiliated with the creative collectives in the agro-industrial complex, leading officials of a number of establishments and cooperatives, owners of various private subsidiary establishments, party and soviet workers, and agricultural experts. The participants discussed tasks concerning the removal of the deficiencies obstructing the introduction of progressive forms of work carried out to organize management, family work forces, and work in the agro-industrial complex and the broader implementation of new economic work forms and methods. Also discussed were the tasks concerning the better use of experience by the (?establishments).

Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the meeting. Vasiliy Konovalov and Tel'man Orudzhev, secretaries of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Gasan Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, participated in the meeting. A detailed report will be published in the newspapers.

Shcherbitskiy on Formation of Ukrainian CP

WA18000558A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee: "On the 70th Anniversary of the First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine. A Tried and Tested Detachment of the Leninist Party"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] **Democratism and glasnost, the lively creativity of the masses and social optimism characterize the life of the Soviet Ukraine in these July days. The 19th all-union party conference, which relied on accumulated experience and in the spirit of Leninist traditions comprehensively reviewed the period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, enriched the strategy and concretized the tactics in our transformations, and defined the ways, forms and methods of work that will insure steady development and the irreversibility of perestroyka.**

All that we are now doing and experiencing, and what we are thinking about, are linked inseparably with the struggle to realize the ideas of the conference. It is in this dynamic atmosphere that all workers in the republic are marking the 70th anniversary of the First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, which in July 1918 formed the Ukrainian Communist Party—an integral part of the unified Leninist party.

The formation of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine had its roots in the beginning of the century at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, whose 85th anniversary occurs this month. Since then the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine has been directed by the Bolshevik Party, which has united the workers of all nationalities. Isolation and "cultural-national" autonomy received no support in the proletariat environment, though it was precisely to this that the leaders of the Ukrainian petty bourgeois parties leaned. Workers in the Ukraine wholeheartedly adopted the internationalist platform of the Bolsheviks, whose foundation was Lenin's triune formula: "Full equality of the nations; nations' right to self-determination; the merging of workers of all nations." (Vol 25, p 320)

In a single formation, in the common workers' organizations they went through the great school of class tempering in the crucible of the three Russian revolutions. The political and organizational genius of Lenin, augmented into the international cohesion of the Bolshevik ranks, fused into one the integrated force of the combat organization of Communists, the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, and the indomitable aspiration of the peoples for their own social and national emancipation.

The victory of the Great October raised in a new way the question of the forms and methods of party building in a multinational state. The Bolshevik Party assumed the great responsibility of political leadership in the world's first Land of the Soviets, and it took care to give due consideration to the national interests of the peoples living there. Life placed on the agenda the task of creating communist parties for the national regions within the makeup of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks). This was a fundamentally new phenomenon resulting from the law-governed patterns of post-October party development and Soviet national-state development.

Late in 1917 the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine raised with the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks) the question of creating an all-Ukrainian party formation. The Leninist Central Committee supported this initiative. However, many difficulties arose on the path to the organizational formation of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine. The first of them was the occupation of the Ukraine as the result of a direct antipopular conspiracy by the bankrupt Central Rada [the former Ukrainian legislative body—ed] and the German-Austrian imperialists. The situation was further complicated by the fact that in the interests of safeguarding the gains of the revolution Soviet Russia had been forced to sign the incredibly severe Treaty of Brest, under whose terms a state border separated Russia from the occupied Ukraine.

However, even under the conditions of the formal severing of the federal ties with Russia, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks preserved their organizational unity with the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and took part in general party work. The constant attention and support from V.I. Lenin and the party Central Committee helped them to deal with the difficulties resulting from the occupation and with disagreements on particular tactical issues. The Taganrog party conference in April 1918 confirmed the vital necessity of forming a Communist Party of the Ukraine and it passed a resolution to convene a congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine for that purpose. And when the emissaries of the underground Bolshevik organizations gathered singly and in groups in Moscow for the congress, they could not conceive of themselves outside the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks).

One the eve of the congress V.I. Lenin received the leading group of Ukrainian party workers. The most important questions on the agenda and the draft resolutions were discussed at the meeting. The First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine took place 5-12 July 1918 in Moscow. A leftist social revolutionary uprising occurred during those days. Delegates with weapons in their hands participated actively in putting it down. And then, gathering again at Rezdvyanka, where the congress was taking place, they issued an appeal to the workers and peasants of Russia, which today is still accepted as a manifesto and oath: "Cherish and build your socialist motherland. She is also our motherland; she is the motherland of all exploited and unfortunate people; in her lies our hope."

The main task for the First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine was the formation of the Ukrainian Communist Party. How should it be done in the situation prevailing at that time? With part of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), or as a separate party linked to the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) through the future Third International? Fierce discussion took place on these questions. It should be noted that the arguments and differences in views were a quite normal phenomenon under those circumstances. It was a question of new forms of party building and working out tactics for the revolutionary struggle to restore the power of the soviets in the Ukraine. The correct line was crystallized with difficulty. The "leftists" (G.L. Pyatakov, A.S. Bubnov, Ya.B. Gamarnik, V.P. Zatonskiy, S.V. Kosior) were running ahead of themselves and overestimating the revolutionary mood of the peasantry. The rightists (E.I. Kviring, Ya.A. Epshteyn, Yu.Kh. Lutovinov, V.K. Averin), on the contrary, underestimated the internal opportunities available to the revolutionary forces. One of the oldest Bolsheviks, N.A. Skrypnik, played an important role in the conduct of the congress and in restraining intraparty contradictions.

However, the deciding voice at the First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine in resolving the question of the status of the Ukrainian Communist Party was with those delegates who had worked in the underground and reflected the aspirations of the local Bolshevik organizations for a strengthening of party unity. And the question of forming the Ukrainian Communist Party was resolved by the congress in a consistently internationalist spirit, exactly as V.I. Lenin had counseled it should be resolved. The congress resolved as follows: "To unite the party communist organizations in the Ukraine into a locally autonomous Ukrainian Communist Party and its Central Committee, but one that is part of the unified Russian Communist Party and subordinate to it in matters related to the programmed general congresses of the Russian Communist Party, and is subordinate to the Russian Communist Party Central Committee in general political matters." ("The Ukrainian Communist Party in Its Resolutions...." Vol 1, p 24)

Consequently, the historical importance of the First Congress of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine lies primarily in the creation of the Ukrainian Communist Party on firm Leninist political, ideological, and organizational principles, as one of the first republic party organizations, an integral and inseparable part of the Leninist party. The Communist Parties of Turkestan, Lithuania, and Belorussia were formed in the same year. Their formation graphically confirmed the viability and the dialectical interaction of the Leninist principles in party building, namely, democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism.

Essentially, the first restructuring of our party during the post-October period was associated with the formation of the communist parties of the Soviet national republics. It did not take long to convince the parties of Leninist internationalists that the processes of forming Soviet national statehood in a multinational country should be adequately reflected in the party structure. While remaining unified and monolithic, the party should at the same time create guarantees to give consideration to the specific interests and needs of the nations and ethnic national groupings. It is precisely this resolution of the question of communist party building that has successfully withstood the test of time. Fourteen republic party organizations whose formation resulted from the victory of the October now operate shoulder to shoulder within the composition of the CPSU.

Today, from the heights attained over these seven decades we recognize deeply that the history of the republic party organization, like that of the entire party, has not been shaped just out of solid victories. Shortcomings in experience, the burden of old prejudices, administrative-command methods in leadership, and ignoring the mechanism of democracy have made themselves known. Implementation of the Leninist concept of the building of socialism has taken place with difficulty and has been complicated by factionalism in the party, the effect of the capitalist encirclement, and blind faith in the universal effectiveness of firm centralization. Ultimately this led to serious losses and even to deviations from the Leninist vision of socialism.

In the republic specific difficulties were created not only by the subversive actions of foreign anti-Soviet centers, nationalist emigres, and the clergy, but also by the extremes permitted, which were often accompanied by unjustified charges of bourgeois nationalism against a number of party and state figures, representatives of the arts, and the scientific intelligentsia. The atmosphere of intolerance and suspicion created in society became a breeding ground for the abuse of power. We have no right to close our eyes to the fact that this dealt a serious blow to the authority of the party as the leading force in the building of socialism.

Displaying courage and a sense of self-criticism, the party has talked candidly about both the deformations and crimes of the times of personality cult and the crisis phenomena in the late seventies and early eighties. While drawing the attention of the broadest public circles to the painful issues in our history, Communists believe that the negative processes of the past do not overshadow the accomplishments of the pioneers of socialism, the heroic victories in the Great Patriotic War, or the difficult postwar times. It is precisely in responsible analysis of the path that has been taken that we must seek the key to resolve the problems placed on the agenda for perestroyka. The strategic line drawn up by the CPSU and the bases of the theory and practice of perestroyka are now being checked out in fact and being transformed into real processes.

The 19th all-union party conference provided a principled and considered evaluation of work to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and it critically analyzed plan fulfillment in the current 5-year plan. The most important result of the first stage of perestroyka is creation of the ideological-political situation in society. People's public activeness has noticeably increased and their creative possibilities are being revealed in a new way. The processes of democratization and glasnost are acquiring increasing depth.

Braking trends in economic development are being overcome. The first results of the economic reform are already coming in. In industry in the republic output growth has risen by a factor of 1.3, and labor productivity has almost doubled. The development of agriculture has become more stable. In perestroyka there are also positive changes in the social sphere. During the current five-year plan targets are being met for the construction of housing, schools, hospitals, workers' dining halls, stores, and preschool establishments. Payments and services from social security funds have been increased. Personal services have been expanded and the output of consumer goods expanded. All this is undoubtedly merely the first results from the increased social activeness of the workers and the revelation and further manifestation of the humane nature of socialism.

Ultimately the main goal of socioeconomic development is to make Soviet people's lives better and more meaningful. And the workers want this today, not in some distant future. This is exactly why the party considers it to be of fundamental importance to strengthen the social orientation of the economy, pursue a strong social policy, and effect a turnabout toward the individual as society's highest value and the decisive factor in perestroyka.

In this connection special attention is being paid to providing the population with foodstuffs and solving the housing problem. Inadequate use is being made of economic levers, the opportunities available to cooperatives and lease contracts, the development of private subsidiary and personal farming plots, and collective horticulture and truck farming. The consumer demand for individual kinds of clothing, footwear, and certain everyday articles remains unsatisfied.

Thus, although positive shifts have occurred in the economy and in the social sphere, the results achieved do not satisfy us. Unfortunately, economic reform is still not yielding the results desired. There are various reasons for this. The shortcomings in the organization of production are still there, particularly in material-technical supply. At the same time the initiative of many collectives has not really been unleashed. And it is a great pity that, as was emphasized at the conference, state orders and normativs and some other innovations are in practice often being transformed into real departmental diktat. Only consistent implementation of the tasks and

measures envisaged in the conference documents will make it possible to overcome these difficulties and inadequacies and accelerate socioeconomic progress in the republic.

The party sees the main source for resolving all social problems in consistent implementation of the course toward economic intensification and overdue structural changes in the national economy, and a decisive acceleration in scientific and technical progress, associated with the development of vanguard directions—microelectronics, robot technology, instrument building, information science, biotechnology and so forth. In this connection further activation is required in work to develop and guarantee efficient activity by the new organizational formations—the intersector scientific and technical complexes, engineering centers, and ad hoc scientific collectives to resolve goal-oriented problems.

The party is rightly advancing the resolution of ecological problems and intensified nature conservation as priority tasks. The main road to this lies through the creation of new, ecologically pure, reliable, and safe technologies. Increased state control and public attention are needed in questions concerning the complete utilization of capital investments allocated for environmental protection purposes. The more rational disposition of production forces will undoubtedly improve the ecological situation in the republic.

The ideological essence of the processes taking place in society is a revolution in consciousness and ideological renewal. Establishing real pluralism of opinions and the open comparison of ideas and interests are typical features of the present period. At the same time the party emphasizes that debate can be fruitful only on the soil of socialism and within the framework of socialism. It should not be conducted for political confrontation and for splitting social forces; this would complicate resolution of the tasks facing us.

The party course toward perestroyka and acceleration in the country's socioeconomic progress is connected closely with the democratization of Soviet society, with the affirmation of socialist self-management by the people, and with the need for reform in the Soviet society's political system, whose goal is to involve broad masses of the workers in the management of all state and public affairs and to complete the formation of the socialist legal state. The conference fully restored the Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism, according to which free discussion must be guaranteed at the stage of debate of issues, as is unity of action after the decision of the majority has been adopted.

The party's relationship with the state will be built on the principles of clear-cut delineation of their functions. Fundamental importance is also attached to the fact that henceforth the party committees will not adopt resolutions with direct instructions for state and economic organs and public organizations. The role of the soviets of people's deputies is being enhanced and their powers extended as fully empowered organs of popular representation, along with their responsibility and independence in resolving questions concerning the development of territories, with extensive use of cost-accounting, contractual, and other methods for their interaction with enterprises and organizations, regardless of their subordination.

Greater demands are being made of Communists working in trade union and other public organizations for the resolution of tasks stemming from the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (or Association), associated with the transfer of enterprises and organizations to the new operating conditions and with strengthening the social thrust of economic decisions.

In the expansion of democracy an important place belongs to the councils in the labor collectives, which are a new form for involving the workers in production management. More than 24,000 of them have already been set up in the republic. The party committees are helping to activate the work of the new public formations—the councils of war veterans and of labor, the cultural fund, the women's councils, the Children's Fund imeni V.I. Lenin and other workers' independent associations. Extensive use is being made of the opportunities for developing public initiative and people's sense of social responsibility.

The essential prerequisites have now been created for qualitatively new development of the cooperative movement and its extensive penetration into various sectors of the economy and the social sphere. More than 3,000 cooperatives are now operating in the Ukraine, producing various commodities, procuring and processing secondary raw materials, providing public catering facilities and everyday consumer services, and other kinds of activity. In addition, more than 2,000 production and marketing cooperatives have been set up in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to provide services for private subsidiary farming by the public.

Perestroyka in the political system naturally requires further development of Soviet federation and consolidation of the basic foundations of the international brotherhood of the peoples. Complying with Lenin's behests, since the time of their first congress Communists in the republic have always and continue to pay special attention to implementing party national policy. And for the Ukrainian people, the close unity of the country's people, which is pivotal in our union state, has always been indestructible. At the same time, analysis of intranational relations from the positions of perestroyka indicates that their development requires a decisive rejection of obsolete formulas and approaches. The fact that in our republic the representatives of more than 100 other nationalities and ethnic national groupings are living and working alongside Ukrainians, as in a friendly family, in no way means that there are no problems. Real, practical intranational relations are considerably more complicated than it seemed. And this requires the

activation of those institutions of the political system that are called upon to reveal national needs and satisfy them more fully. It is precisely on this plane that party and soviet organs are rethinking and restructuring in a practical way people's patriotic, intranational indoctrination, and have increased their attention to the study of the historical legacy and the development of national culture, and are showing concern for the more complete implementation of the principle of bilingualism and for satisfying the demands of the various national groups. Problems arising in this sphere will be resolved within the framework of the democratic process, strengthening the internationalist unity of the fraternal peoples.

Realization of the complex and crucial tasks of perestroyka requires reliable scientific theoretical backing. The scientific potential available in the republic should be used more fully in the interests of developing the national economy. It is essential to achieve significant advances in the work of social scientists to close the gap that has opened between the level of their work and the requirements of social practice.

It is important to pay constant attention to the development of people's education, one of the basic factors in economic and social progress and the spiritual renewal of society. Perestroyka is also creating additional opportunities for more active participation by the artistic intelligentsia in these processes. At the same time, it is placing incomparably higher demands on literature, theater, cinema, and other fields of culture and the arts. The processes of revolutionary transformation require artistic reflection from the positions of civic-mindedness, a sense of the ideological, and humanism. This will promote the spiritual enrichment of our society and the formation in people of sensible demands, lofty moral principles, and esthetic tastes.

In light of perestroyka the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society is being reinterpreted along new lines. In their work the republic party organizations are striving actively to develop democratic principles and consistently rid themselves of command-administrative methods. The norm is now the practice in which the secretaries of the primary party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms, the chairmen of ispolkoms, and economic leaders are elected by secret ballot from two or more candidates. This is making cadre work more open and is creating room for competition between minds and talents. As is known, by the decision of the 19th all-union party conference this kind of procedure for the nomination, discussion, and election of the members of party committees and secretaries is also being extended to all party organs.

The line of enhancing the role of plenums, party meetings, and elected organs is being consistently pursued. Members of the party Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and the corresponding auditing commission are becoming broadly involved in the preparations for plenums and meetings of the aktiv. Significant steps have been taken in expanding glasnost. The main issues in the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party are being publicized immediately and specifically by the mass media. Members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and the bureaus of the party committees are visiting the labor collectives more often, and meeting with journalists.

Within the republic a course is being consistently pursued toward the organizational-political consolidation of the party ranks and improvement in their qualitative makeup. The Ukrainian Communist Party now numbers 3,293,000 Communists. They include 46 percent workers, 14.8 percent kolkhoz farmers, and 39.2 percent representatives of the technical and artistic intelligentsia, workers in education, public health, management and so forth. In most cases the Communists decide who augments their ranks in an open manner, giving due consideration to the opinions of nonparty people. The primary party organizations are trying to act primarily through the Communists and by taking more counsel with people.

The main element in the struggle for perestroyka and to accelerate socioeconomic development is the labor collectives and the primary party organizations that directly implement party policy. There are now more than 71,000 primary party organizations in the Ukrainian Communist Party, together with more than 74,000 shops party organizations and almost 135,000 party groups. This is a major force. However, by no means all of them assume the full measure of responsibility for insuring perestroyka, and some reconcile themselves to the fact that some party members are not occupying vanguard positions.

In resolving the large-scale tasks of perestroyka, an important role belongs to the party raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms as organs of political leadership. They must become real generators of the new thinking and nonstandard approach, the conducting rods of new ideas, organizers of the interaction between all forces in the revolutionary renewal of society. All the political and organizational work of the Ukrainian Communist Party is being conducted under the direct leadership of the CPSU Central Committee, which is aiming the republic's Communists and workers toward radical perestroyka in all spheres of public life.

As part of the Leninist party, the Ukrainian Communist Party has traversed a difficult but at the same time glorious path over the past seven decades. The experience gained since its formation has confirmed the general importance of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the building of a new society and proved the vital force of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The Leninist party and the Soviet people are waging a selfless and truly revolutionary struggle for transition to a qualitatively new status for our society. The test of political maturity and the ability to affirm with real deeds the irreversible nature of perestroyka are realizing the decisions, conclusions, and tasks outlined by the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The republic's Communists and workers believe that active participation in this work is their chief patriotic and international duty, the highest criterion of loyalty to the cause of Lenin and the cause of October.

'Honest Analysis' in Foreign Reporting Urged

AU0508144988 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
4 Aug 88 p 4

[Interview with Aleksey Bukalov, political observer of NOVOYE VREMYA, by Aneli Bacheva: "Struggle for Truth"—date and place not given]

[Text] Aleksey Bakalov has served for some time as an international Soviet journalist. Given his heavy program in Sofia, it was natural for us to begin the interview with a question on the changes in Soviet foreign policy in recent years.

[Bukalov] It is difficult to give a brief outline of Soviet foreign policy. I consider that its main qualities are openness and dynamism. In the last 3 years, we have actively sought common viewpoints with different countries and with the various trends in international politics. Today this means honest partnership and a search for positive content in these relations. Parity has been achieved in missiles, but, as one of my colleagues wittily remarked, it is now necessary to achieve parity in salami. To attain this parity, we must have highly developed economic links and international economic cooperation, which can only be based on cooperation in the political field. The present task of our international policies is to ensure that foreign policy provides favorable conditions for restructuring.

[Bacheva] What would you say if I suggested that you yourself choose the further course of our conversation. What is the problem that stirs you as a man and a journalist?

[Bukalov] Afghanistan is the problem that interests not only me, but the whole of our people. The political decision on Afghanistan made by the new Soviet leadership was not only one of the most important decisions for the Soviet Union's foreign policy, but was also of immense importance for Soviet public opinion and the domestic policy of our party and state. When the withdrawal of the Soviet troops began on 15 May 1988, our journal decided to publish the personal views of well-known Soviet figures on this issue. Accordingly, I called the poet Konstantin Vanshenkin. After I had explained to him why we were bothering him, he said to me: "You know, I can't tell you anything in particular. I can read you the verses I wrote in 1982, 3 years after Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. Will you publish them?" I told him that we would publish them, and he read me some terrible verses that reflect this pain and misfortune that came into the homes of many people during the undeclared war in Afghanistan, which lasted twice as long as the Great Patriotic War. Vanshenkin's poem reflected the real attitude of Soviet public opinion toward the war. I consider that the Soviet troop withdrawal is one of the greatest political results of our party's new policy, a result with immense consequences for foreign policy. The unraveling of the Afghanistan knot had an immediate effect on other regional conflicts. Prospects exist for settling the long-standing, serious conflicts in the Horn of Africa. Somalia and Ehtiopia, which for 10 years have had no diplomatic relations, have now established relations. In such parts of the world as South Africa, where it seemed absolutely impossible to reach a settlement in the confrontation between the racist regime in Pretoria and the neighboring Frontline States, negotiations are now being conducted.

[Bacheva] The resolution of the Afghanistan problem once again posed the question of confidence in Soviet foreign policy, and made this policy more authoritative and effective in the international arena....

[Bukalov] The withdrawal of the Soviet troops does not in itself completely settle the Afghanistan problem. The policy of peaceful reconciliation that the new Afghan Government is now adhering to could help in preserving Afghanistan as an independent, neutral state. The withdrawal of our troops will be completed in February next year, regardless of how events develop. The decision is final and corresponds to the interests of all Soviet people. However, relations with Afghanistan will continue to develop in the fields of economic and political cooperation.

[Bacheva] The "Afghanistan topic" has frequently appeared in the Bulgarian press. Many Bulgarian journalists have visited Afghanistan. Recently there has been talk about the fate of the Soviet prisoners of war, a question that previously was not mentioned....

[Bukalov] Yes, the problem of the Soviet prisoners is a very acute one for us. A figure of 313 prisoners is mentioned. In many respects, this is a delicate problem. Who is directly responsible for the Afghanistan tragedy? This will certainly be made clear, but it seems to me that there is also an ethical side to the problem. As long as our boys are left there, as long as men are dying there, it is impossible to say. When they return, the person who made the political decision must then be named, and one must see who will bear the responsibility, although many men are already dead.

The problem of prisoners is complicated. It is my personal belief that many of them are no longer alive. In the near future, we must discuss the question of those missing without trace. The Pakistani Government recently stated that there were no Soviet prisoners on

Pakistani territory. I think it is impossible to believe them, because many prisoners are held by the Afghan bands on the territory of Afghanistan. The armed opposition controls about 80 percent of the territory. The Soviet prisoners may not know that an amnesty has been declared and that a search is under way for them, because no information reaches them.

[Bacheva] In a recent issue of the journal OGONEK, Major General Kim Tsagolov, doctor of philosophical sciences, while accounting for the absence of glasnost at the beginning of the eighties in an interview with Artem Borovik, a representative of the editorial board, nonetheless criticized the journalists for stating only a small part of the truth about Afghanistan. In your view, how is international journalism being restructured?

[Bukalov] I have established that in Bulgaria many of my Bulgarian colleagues and friends attentively follow the Soviet press. They find out in literal detail what we are writing about. However, both they and we are aware that at present our international journalism lags behind domestic journalism in many respects. There are several reasons for this. If one reads our international dispatches and articles, one gets the impression that no errors have occurred in Soviet foreign policy. It has always played a leading role and been correct and true. Unfortunately, there have been mistakes, some of them very serious, with great consequences for the development of the overall international situation. You know, there is one complex and insurmountable point: We have always taught our partners in the West and the socialist countries to believe that what is written in the Soviet press reflects the official viewpoint. However, we now have to get both our domestic and foreign readers accustomed to the idea that the Soviet international journalist may hold his own personal viewpoint.

[Bacheva] At the scientific-practical conference held in Moscow last week on the subject "The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy," Eduard Shevardnadze suggested that, when some political action or other is being planned, one should take into account not only the view of the scientists, but also the opinions of the best international journalists....

[Bukalov] The proposal is a sensible one. Our international journalists should take part in developing the official viewpoint, and make a contribution through their own information and positions. What happens at present? For example, some article is published on economic difficulties in one of the socialist countries. One of the leaders of this country makes an indignant telephone call to the Soviet ambassador, the Soviet ambassador cables Moscow, and in Moscow they start investigating who did what. A typical reaction to an article on such an issue. That is one complex point. Now we have glasnost, and no censorship, but unfortunately each of us has his own censor inside his own head. This is the other complexity. We are afraid to state an unorthodox viewpoint. We restrict ourselves, wondering what they will say "there," what they will think to themselves. Nowadays, the party not only sets tasks regarding objective reporting of international events and processes, but also demands that we maintain an honest attitude toward our own policies, make an honest analysis, and work with the readers to foster an objective view of reality.

Book on Lenin's View of 'Opposition' Published

LD0508194288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 5 August broadcasts a 6-minute report on a new book written by Yevgeniy Plemak and published by the Political Literature Publishing House entitled "Lenin's Political Testament" [Politicheskoye Zaveshchaniye Lenina"].

In an interview, correspondent Tatyana Filippova asked Leonid Ivanovich Grekov, deputy editor-in-chief of the Political Literature Publishing House, what was new in the book. First Grekov explains that Plemak is a historian and the author of many books. "In the sixties Plemak was one of the authors of a book entitled 'Leninism and the Dialectics of Social Development,' which was on the subject of Lenin's policy regarding political differences of view. That book, in particular a chapter written by Plemak, evoked a storm of reaction among social scientists. Plemak was accused, one might say, of every kind of political and theoretical sin and error." Plemak's chapter in the book had been on the subject of the peace of Brest.

Now Plemak's latest book has been well received, Grekov says. Speaking of this new book, Grekov goes on to say: "There has simply never been such a theoretical work and such research in our country. After Lenin's death works were published by prominent party theoreticians and prominent Marxists devoted to Lenin's political testament. I have in mind works by Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin. However, of late the Soviet reader has been unaware of these works.

"A further thing is that if one is speaking of the topicality of this small book, it indeed touches upon the issues that are under discussion at the present time. These include the question of our party's nationalities policy and the question of relations between nationalities that are being so sharply raised at present. There is also the question of debate within the party. We are aware that the 19th all-union party conference adopted a special resolution on the attitude toward debate and was itself an example of sharp debate."

Grekov says that the book deals with Lenin's views on the party leader and recalls that Lenin regarded the concentration of immense power in the hands of such a person as Stalin to be dangerous.

Plemak's book includes a whole section devoted to Lenin's principles of combating opposition. Grekov says that this is one of the key sections of the book. He goes

on to say: "The author shows that Lenin waged a very sharp and irreconcilable struggle against opposition. But he never waged this struggle in the style of primitive and unsubstantial exposure. He always saw his opponent as a potential partner. We can recall Lenin's struggle against workers' opposition and military opposition, Lenin's discussion about trade unions, and how steadfastly and pertinaciously he strove to change the convictions of his opponents, and to incline a party aktiv and party members in general to his side in order to work out joint decisions. These matters are topical for our times too, because a feature of the new political thinking is the principle of respect for one's partner, respect for one's opponent, and respect for the convictions of a person who does not agree with you. Indeed, it must be honestly said that many of us are simply not yet ready for this. The lessons of Lenin's struggle against opposition and Lenin's attitude toward divergencies of views within the party are very instructive."

Kharkov 'War Criminal' Sentenced to Death

LD0508180888 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Kharkov August 5 TASS—An open trial of the war criminal Aleksandr Posevin has ended. He was charged with high treason, punitive activities, personal participation in the mass killings and tortures of Soviet citizens during Nazi occupation of the Ukrainian city of Kharkov in 1942-1943. The traitor was sentenced to death.

The investigation established that in one of the battles in June 1942, Posevin, who was a sergeant in an engineering battalion at the time, surrendered with his weapons to Nazis, became a policeman and served his new masters faithfully. Soon he was appointed commander of the police platoon and later of an SD battalion.

In late November 1942 Posevin together with SD officers August Fries, Villi Schulz and policemen took part in the shooting of not less than 200 Soviet citizens in the suburb of Kharkov. During the massacre Posevin personally shot dead not less than 35 people. In all, the murderer killed 330 Soviet citizens, and the battalion under his command more than 4,000 civilians.

During the Soviet offensive on Kharkov, Posevin, having concealed his past, moved to the Zaporozhye region, from where he was called up into the army. After the demobilization he returned there.

Posevin was hunted for a long time. The investigation team of the Committee of State Security of the Ukraine, came on the tracks of the traitor of the motherland after conducting a great amount of work, taking up 40 volumes.

Briefs

Memorial for Stalin Victims

An organizing committee has been set up in Moscow for holding an inaugural conference of a society called Memorial. This new public organization is to assume most of the work to build a memorial complex in memory of the victims of Stalin purges. [Text] [*LD0808002888 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 7 Aug 88*]

New 'Glasnost' Yearly

The Soviet Union has begun the publication of a discussion yearly book called LOOK. The edition, seen by many as a product of the epoch of glasnost, is intended by publishers to further the right of people to hold different views of the same things. The first volume of the yearly includes articles by prominent men of letters portraying a wide variety of creative trends. In particular they project their views on a number of recent books, raising vibrant moral and social issues. [Text] [*LD0508023688 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 4 Aug 88*]

Ulch Dictionary Published

Dictionaries of the Ulch language have come off the presses in Bogorodskoye, Khabarovsk Kray. They have gone to the libraries of taiga schools around the lower Amur. From the start of the new academic year, this textbook will help children master their native language. The Ulch are one of the country's smallest ethnic groups. The last census counted them at a little over 2,500. Nevertheless, works of fiction and textbooks are published in their language, and radio broadcasts are made in it. [Text] [*LD0808002188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Aug 88*]

Agricultural

Regional Developments Reported for 4-7 Aug

LD0608005588 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 4-7 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

4 August:

A sharp signal from Amur Oblast: Favorable weather conditions this year bode well for fodder procurement, but the extremely unsatisfactory situation with regard to providing equipment with fuel and lubricating materials is causing great concern. Enterprises of the USSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products have failed to dispatch more than 9,000 metric tonnes of diesel fuel to the Amur agroprom in accordance with the

first half-year stocks program. The July delivery schedule was also spoiled. A real threat of combines coming to a halt has emerged, at a peak time of harvesting. (0204)

In Ryazan Oblast 750,000 hectares of grain crops have been threshed at farms there, which is more than 75 percent of the acreage. (0400)

Grain crops have been cut on 900,000 hectares in Kuybyshev Oblast. (0600)

In Orel Oblast 600,000 hectares have been cut and threshed, which is two-thirds of the harvest. Ninety percent of the wheat arriving at elevators are valuable varieties. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 1130)

In Kazakhstan, 10 oblasts are harvesting grain. Grain crops have been reaped on 2.5 million hectares. (1300)

Lipetsk Oblast has fulfilled its grain-sale plan by shipping 600,000 metric tonnes of winter wheat, rye, and barley to procurement points. (1400)

Today Belgorod field workers have delivered their 500,000th metric tonne of grain to the state, 2.5 times as much as over the same period last year. (1400)

The farms of Dzhambul Oblast in Kazakhstan have fulfilled the grain-sales plan to the state. They have sold 405,000 tonnes of grain to the state. (1500)

5 August:

In Uzbekistan almost 4 million metric tonnes of fodder for public livestock have been procured to date in the republic. (0204)

After abundant rainfall, the sowing of winter crops has started in the Altay. Winter crops are to be sown on an area of 280,000 hectares. (1100)

The grain-sales plan has been fulfilled in Nikolayev Oblast, where 1.072 million tonnes have been delivered. Over 670,000 metric tonnes of valuable wheat have reached the elevators. (1300)

Some 1.5 million metric tonnes of coarse and succulent fodder have been procured in Tajikistan. (1300)

The 500,000th tonne of wheat, rye, and barley has been placed in the granaries in Orel Oblast. (1400)

To date Stavropol farmers have handed over to the state over 1.9 million metric tonnes of grain. More than 400,000 metric tonnes of Stavropol's main grain crop, winter wheat, consists of strong varieties, while over 1 million metric tonnes of it is made up of valuable varieties. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 1700)

6 August:

In the Uzbek SSR 50,000 tonnes of above-plan grain have been delivered to reception centers to date. (0204)

Belorussia is harvesting on the second half of the grain area. Grain farmers' rate of work is being affected by the fact that the crops have been flattened by bad weather. (0600)

Tula Oblast has sold more than 200,000 tonnes of grain to the state. (0600)

Sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the Black Sea region have passed the 1 million tonne mark for grain sales. Strong and valuable varieties of wheat make up 70 percent of the output. The average yield is 33 quintals for each of the 700,000 hectares in Odessa Oblast from which grain has been harvested. (1300)

Farms of Karachayevo-Cherkessiya have started selling above-plan grain to the state. To date they have supplied a total of 27,000 tonnes of barley and wheat. (1300)

Stavropol farmers have fulfilled their grain sales to the state plan with 1.92 million tonnes now in storage. The farmers have achieved their aim and met the state order for grain deliveries in spite of bad weather. Contract brigades have worked best. More than 1 million tonnes of valuable and 400,000 tonnes of strong wheat have been delivered. High-grade grain came in above all from (Turkmenskiy), Apanasenkovskiy, and Ipatovskiy Rayons. The harvest is coming to an end. (1500)

More than 1 million tonnes of grain has been procured so far in the Ukraine, 60 percent of it strong varieties. In Odessa and Nikolayev Oblasts, a fuel shortage has brought trucks and combines to a halt. Odessa Oblast is owed more than 17,000 tonnes of diesel. The situation is the same in Nikolayev Oblast, where they have already fulfilled their plan for sale of grain to the state. N.N. Dremlyuk, first secretary of the Berezanskiy rayon party committee, says that the problem is that the planning for fuel and oil supply does not take into account the transport of above-plan loads, thus forcing farmers to take the maximum fuel allowance in advance. The situation arises with transport of above-plan silage, grapes, and other things. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 1700)

7 August:

In the Mordovian ASSR, about 120,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to elevators and reception enterprises to date; that is, more than 35 percent of the annual plan. (0400)

Gomel Oblast farms have already delivered over 125,000 tonnes of grain. This is over half of their planned target. (0600)

This year Belorussia is to produce 1.5 million tonnes of grain. Over a third of this has already been dispatched to the state's granaries. (0600)

Penza Oblast farmers have harvested over 1 million tonnes of grain to date. Threshing is going on in the second half of the sown area. (1800)

Scientific

'Cosmos 1962' Launched, Functioning Normally

LD0808145388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 8 Aug (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos 1962, was launched in the Soviet Union today to continue space research. It has been placed in an orbit with the folloeing parameters:

Initial period of revolution: 89.4 minutes;

Maximum distance from earth's surface: 297 km;

Minimum distance from earth's surface: 215 km;

Inclination of orbit: 70 degrees.

The apparatus installed on the satellite is functioning normally.

Cosmonauts Prepare for 29 Aug Joint Mission

LD0808143388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Two Soviet-Afghan crews are concluding space-flight training at Zvezdniy Gorodok. One of them will lift off into space on 29 August. Here is a report by our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich:

[Lazarevich] A routine training session has just ended. The first Soviet-Afghan crew conducted their work in a mock-up of the Mir station. I will ask crew commander Vladimir Lyakhov how the latest session is going, because very soon the crew will have to go to the cosmodrome.

[Begin recording] [Lyakhov] We have had a typical 24-hour day. Work on experiments to be conducted on board the Mir orbital station have been fully carried out. They include photographic training, and television reportages were held. A full 24 hours has been played through, from getting up to the end of the working day.

[Lazarevich] This is the third time you have prepared for space, but for your comrades it is the first. What do you think about their work today?

[Lyakhov] The doctor showed his professional knowledge, and Ahad, the Afghan representative, demonstrated his knowledge of the equipment. Their activities were competent and their knowledge is profound. The specialists gave them an excellent appraisal.

[Lazarevich] Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad arrived in Zvezdniy Gorodok not that long ago—half a year ago. No one has ever mastered such an amount of information in such a short time. Is it hard for you?

[Ahad] Yes, on the whole, work here in Zvezdniy Gorodok is difficult, but I have been in the Soviet Union before, for about 7 years. I graduated from flying school, and then the Kiev academy. I manage everything, and I am satisfied with my work here.

[Lazarevich] On the whole, only those with an all-around background have worked in space so far. And only doctors have been lucky. Once again a doctor is setting off into space, Valeriy Polyakov. Tell me please, why do you think it is a doctor again?

[Polyakov] One can clearly see a trend toward an increase in the length of flight, which is economically advantageous and justified. Now people fly in space for almost a year, and this is not the limit. But the longer the flights and the more of them there are, the more problems arise for us. [end recording]

Afghan Comments on Flight

LD0708145488 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 7 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 7 TASS—"The forthcoming joint Soviet-Afghan outer space flight is of great significance for strengthening Soviet-Afghan friendship," Muhammad Aslam Watanjar, member of the Political Bureau of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, communications minister of Afghanistan, said in an interview with the newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB SAWR.

The minister stressed that two officers of Afghanistan's Armed Forces Air Force Colonel Muhammad Dauran and Air Force Captain 'Abdullah Ahad are now undergoing their last pre-launching training sessions, after which one of them will go on a space flight among an international crew.

During the stay in near-earth orbit the crew will have to carry out various scientific experiments. Meanwhile, intensive work is underway on earth. Training with the use of special training equipment and stimulators, work at laboratories, stringent medical check-up and testing of advanced onboard systems. [sentence as received]

AIDS Council Holds First Meeting

LD0508190088 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—The Interdepartmental Council formed at the USSR Ministry of Health will be coordinating all the work in the USSR to inform the population of the methods of preventing AIDS. The first meeting of the council's founders—representatives of state institutions, public organisations and the media—was held in Moscow today.

"It is apparent that the population is yet, regrettably, little informed about AIDS, and enlightenment in the area of hygiene is indispensable to the prevention of the disease", USSR Deputy Minister of Health, the council's chairman Aleksandr Kondrusev said at the meeting. "Estimates indicate that the problem posed by the dangerous disease will become more acute with the passage of time. Therefore it is necessary to create reliable barriers to the spread of the infection. The hygienic education, popularization of the knowledge as to how to prevent the spread of the virus and avoid contacting the disease are indispensable. The Interdepartmental Council is called upon to organise a programme of AIDS prevention among various groups of the country's population, taking into account epidemiological peculiarities of the infection and social, professional and everyday specific features."

The situation as regards AIDS in the USSR is more or less stable so far: There is one case of AIDS and 63 citizens are infected with the virus of the disease. They are mainly people in the risk group who contracted the disease as a result of promiscuous sex. All their contacts are under observation.

A state programme of combatting AIDS functions in the country. Some 400 diagnostic laboratories make more than 1.5 million analyses every month. Over a thousand such laboratories will be operating in the USSR by the end of the year. Problems of AIDS are studied in over 40 Soviet research centres. Diagnostic test-systems have been created and are upgraded in the USSR. There is a quest for medicinal preparations and vaccines. Much attention is paid to fundamental research into the problem.

Military

Troops' Relations With Host Countries Considered

PM0808090088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 12

[Special correspondent V. Yanelis article: "Not Prohibited in Principle: The Army in the Host Country, or Another Delicate Topic Suggested by the Age of Glasnost"]

[Excerpts] This is a fact: In accordance with allied commitments, Soviet troops are stationed on the territory of a number of socialist states. We have a common defensive shield and a single military doctrine. It is senseless to search for traits of strong-arm pressure in our military presence. Other times. Other political criteria.

I do not want to evaluate the nature of this phenomenon, I am taking it as read. Let us talk about what life is like for our servicemen and their families over there, abroad. In Czechoslovakia, for instance.

There are not many of our troops there. Their deployment and quantitative—and also, doubtless, qualitative—composition are no longer a secret. In any case, the European NATO headquarters has data on them. They also know why our military presence is needed: to neutralize the mobile NATO formations located in close proximity to the CSSR-FRG border, with powerful strike aviation, paratroop units, and missile weaponry. There is an axiom that cannot yet be broken: The army lives and develops according to the laws of equivalence.

That, to be brief, is the general situation. Now for the realities of army life in a friendly country, but nonetheless on foreign territory.

...A few months ago, during the visit of the Soviet party and government delegation to the CSSR, our leader was given a letter. The inhabitants of a little spa city asked for an aviation unit to be transferred somewhere else. Its presence close to the residential zone was causing some inconvenience to the population and frightening off foreign tourists.

Of course, it is not very pleasant to be awakened by the roar of supersonic fighters, but an airfield is not a children's playground. Moving it takes time and considerable resources. All the same, 2 months later the fighters were transferred elsewhere. The helicopters remained. They make less noise. Moreover, the helicopter operators behave very tactfully: They do not fly during holidays, religious services, or funerals. Someone from the local council has only to telephone the headquarters and make a request. Although the military has its own plans, it is dependent on the weather and plenty of other things.

Local circumstances must indisputably be reckoned with. In general, an army abroad is a complex phenomenon; there are many contributory factors and nuances—political, moral, economic—relating to daily life.

When tanks bearing the emblems of the Czechoslovak People's Army race over the test ranges, destroying the undergrowth and plowing up the meadows with their tracks, that is one thing. When Soviet tanks follow the same route, that is another thing. It is naive to expect all Czechs and Slovaks, without exception, to assess such situations objectively. Sometimes an accidentally felled tree or a turkey crushed under the wheels can grow into an incident. So what can one say about the accidental deaths of people? But that can happen, too...

However carefully the activity schedules are drawn up for combat hardware, whatever precautionary measures are taken, accidents happen on the roads. A local resident fails to keep his Skoda close in to the roadside at night, forgets to switch his headlights on, swerves into the lane of the oncoming traffic... And the tragedy happens!

Thousands of people are killed every year on the roads of the world. This is a familiar and sad fact. But the public reaction to an accident taking place abroad involving a Soviet military driver (even if he is not to blame) is many times greater than the reaction to a dozen ordinary dramas on the roads.

Fortunately, the majority of Czechoslovaks view these problems dialectically. They understand the degree of inconvenience and the awkwardness we feel in circumstances that are so disadvantageous to us. But every time the Western radio stations talk about it, dwell on the details with relish, and seek to make people annoyed with the Soviet military presence.

At the same time, for every broken branch, piece of sown land plowed with tracks, or broken fence, not to mention accidental human casualties, we pay fines in hard currency. The group of forces has a special department in charge of nature conservation and the prevention of any kind of damage. Incidentally, a similar service would not be superfluous in the USSR, too.

I discussed this subject with the chairman of the district people's council in the Slovak city of Zvolen. Ladislav Klement, who has held the post of chairman for nearly 20 years, was frank:

"Of course we have people who have a critical attitude toward the Soviet military presence. But they do not set the tone. Any sensible Slovak or Czech realizes that if there were no Soviet troops here, the tasks of defending the country would fall entirely on the shoulders of the Czechoslovak People's Army. That would require enormous additional spending, human resources, restructuring industry. Our strength lies in unity, including military unity... Go and visit the monument to the fallen Soviet servicemen, see how well it is cared for, and you will realize what the liberators mean to the Slovaks."

Ladislav Klement told me about several cases where the local authorities asked Soviet units stationed in Slovakia for help and always received it. Whether it was a matter of rescuing Slovak families trapped by a flood, harvesting potatoes soaked by the rain, or whatever. [passage omitted]

Ladislav Klement put forward arguments in favor of closer contacts between Soviet servicemen and the local inhabitants.

"There is not enough ordinary human contact. The soldiers emerge from the garrison on holidays or in emergencies. But why should they not simply wander around the streets and smile at a young Slovak girl... That would strengthen trust between us."

If only the chairman knew what a sore point he had touched on!

I do not think any other country's troops abroad can be fenced in with such a palisade of regulations as Soviet troops in the socialist countries. Not many Soviet soldiers who have served 2 years in the CSSR can boast that they were even once simply on leave. The concept just does not exist. There are excursions, very rarely and for a very restricted circle. Naturally, the soldiers are not abroad for purposes of study. But is it humane to stifle people's natural curiosity, their interest in the life of a strange country? [passage omitted]

Perhaps the turkey that is run over would not turn into an incident if the population of the host country saw our soldiers close up more often? If, when abroad, we did not only embody the military strength factor, but became approachable, tangible, friendly, as we really are?

People might object (and have objected): Servicemen cannot do anything in the cities without knowing the language, and there is no guarantee that they will not be drawn into contact with hostile elements.

I think the question of what they would do is no problem. They could walk about, look around them, study the architecture, eat ice cream, discover for themselves an industrious, welcoming, beautiful people. Learning 20 Czech phrases so that they do not get lost in a strange city is no problem. As for the second point, for some reason I am not convinced that foreign tourists go to Czechoslovakia exclusively with the aim of making contact with Soviet servicemen and extracting secrets from them. [passage omitted]

Who goes to work with the groups of forces abroad, and why? The reason is obvious: to see the country and improve your material position, after all, there is currency plus wages in rubles. Food in the host country is cheap because of the rations which, I think, everyone receives—officers, members of their families, workers, and employees. The ration includes all the main items: meat, vegetables, fish, groats, and so forth. It costs about R20. If you want delicacies, you spend your korunas. Some people save them, so as to buy luxuries. That is up to them.

Some of the women go there with the secret hope of finding a companion for life among the military. Which is also understandable, in human terms.

Now—who goes? No clear selection criteria exist. For the military, it is understandable. You sweat it out in the home districts—then fate sends you abroad. For the

civilians, it is more complicated. It is they who choose the country. And they too are chosen, more or less on a competitive basis. There are several applicants for every post.

You would think the best specialists should go, the people with strong morality, discipline, reliability. But here is a lamentable figure for just 1 month: 25 workers had their work contracts canceled. The reasons? Alcohol abuse, disorderly conduct, speculation, attempted smuggling, shoplifting.

One of our women, who held the post of store manager outside the garrison's gates, organized an underground trade in Soviet watches and binoculars. Another tried to pass R2,000 through customs in her brassiere...

They also send home those people whose skills do not meet the employers' requirements. How many ridiculous stories I heard! For instance, an editorial office asks for a zincographer from the USSR, and they send a photographer. Or a carpenter arrives instead of an expert in ancient Spanish literature. Or (this happens all the time) they send "highly skilled" typists who have never been near a typewriter before...

Recruitment is organized by the military recruiting offices. One can only speculate as to what considerations they are guided by, if they deliberately practice deception. [passage omitted]

Ludek Dvorak, chairman of the "Dukla" rural cooperative, complained that with the fruit and vegetable harvest in full swing, he is struggling from lack of manpower; he is forced to bring in students to help in the fields, from goodness knows where. It would be more advantageous to him to deal with women's teams from the military camp.

That is not the custom. "It is not prohibited in principle, but it is not permitted either," I was told, "it is not stipulated in any document. Now, if an agreement were signed at intergovernmental level..."

Once, the military themselves took the initiative on this and wrote a letter to the defense minister, but it did not get past the offices. "You should think more about combat readiness," people at the ministry think, "and let the women raise the children." And that is the end of the story.

Of course, no one disputes that they should think about combat readiness. But we should also think about who maintains that readiness. What life is like for people abroad. Finally, we should not forget the concept of socialist internationalism...

It is not only a matter of thinking, of not forgetting. Something must be done, whatever difficulties are entailed. It is hard to change something, even when it is fundamentally erroneous. However, a time comes when it is simply impossible not to change!

Article Views Life at Navy Command Post

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[Special correspondent A. Gorokhov report from the Central Command Station under the rubric "Today Is USSR Navy Day": "Ocean Watch"]

[Text] The interior of this hall, the size of two volleyball courts and with no "fighting cocks" on the walls, as its occupants say, that is, with no superfluous inspiring—or rather, distracting—pictures, contains nothing to indicate what department it belongs to. Only a large free-standing globe suggests that planetary matters are controlled here.

The desks of the operating officers, several men at each of them. VDT's, two large indicator boards, telephones, safes. One of them is clearly the one that must be opened in extraordinary circumstances. Which one? I keep the question to myself—guests are extremely rare here, especially journalists, and since they have let me in, I had better keep quiet and not interrupt people's work.

An indicator board lights up: the state of affairs in the fleets at this morning hour. No, it is not the weather that is indicated, but the number of NATO and other submarines deployed in the positional areas. I wonder, how many?... But no! I immediately forget the number, which, in some headquarters across the ocean, perhaps in a hall just like this one, they could compare with the real figure and immediately calculate the effectiveness of Soviet means of detection. It is no accident that the military-technical rivalry that the world community cannot yet manage to "confine" within a verifiable treaty framework is called, with regard to submarine building, the "silent war," in which designers, staffs, and commanding officers excel. The logic of the development of technology and armaments—in general the logic of the absurd, a logic that leads the world to an impasse.

They have managed to make some progress and take the first step along the path to a nuclear-free world in the sphere of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles (tomorrow, incidentally, the implementation of the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles begins in Kazakhstan). But naval armaments are still a "blank spot" in the talks process, to this day not even "colored in" with confidence-building measures, something that the Soviet Union calls for persistently and consistently.

Operational information from all over the planet, or rather, from every corner of the world's oceans where Soviet ships sail, converges here, in this hall, the Soviet Navy's unique "bridge." It does not happen the same way every time, but sometimes a need arises not only for

practical advice for the commanding officer of a particular "unit," but also for "first aid." In the event of a serious emergency, an "irregular situation," experts come to the Central Command station and together, terribly pressed for time, work out proposals for the adoption of decisions that hundreds of lives depend on.

This happened, for instance, in October 1986, when fire broke out in one compartment of a nuclear submarine of ours carrying ballistic missiles, when it was 1,000 km northeast of the islands of Bermuda. For 3 days (it is easy to say that: "3 days") the crews of the submarine and the Soviet ships that arrived on the scene fought for the submarine's life, and in the end for the crew's life. For 3 days! They managed to shut down the reactor and exclude the possibility of a nuclear explosion or radioactive contamination, but the submarine, alas, they could not save, and the village of Skornyakovo, in the Vologda region, received the bitter news of the death of seaman Sergey Preminin...

Many of those working at the operators' desks today were on duty on the day the Soviet tanker "Marshal Chuykov" was blown up by a mine in the Persian Gulf. It was on that very day that the maritime minesweeper "Kurskiy Komsomolets" joined the detachment of our ships in the Indian Ocean. Peacetime, supposedly, but for the crew of the minesweeper, the 14,000 miles it traveled in the Gulf could hardly be called peaceful. The seamen worked with the damaged "Chuykov," soon were told about the tragedy to the American frigate "Stark," then witnessed the shelling of a Pakistani tanker and were themselves subjected to a training attack by 12 fast Iranian launches (good "training," you'll agree). Captain 3d Class A. Golodov (commander of the minesweeper) was awarded an order for his combat service in the Persian Gulf.

March 1986: gross violation of the USSR state border by the U.S. cruiser "Yorktown" and destroyer "Caron" south of the Crimean peninsula. Late September: provocative entry into the Sea of Okhotsk by four U.S. Navy ships, the group consisting of the flagship battleship "New Jersey," two cruisers, and a destroyer, the purpose being "to show the flag off the shores of the Soviet Union." May 1987: gross violation by the U.S. Navy nuclear missile cruiser "Arkansas" of the USSR state border in the Avachinskaya Straits region, Kamchatka. February 1988: another violation of our border near the Crimea by the cruiser "Yorktown" and the destroyer "Caron" (old friends!)...

I am not recalling these facts to make an interesting story. The point is this: Whether we like it or not (and of course, we don't!), the risk of military confrontation at sea is very great. Now, today! If naval confrontation were merely preserved, perhaps at a high, dangerous level, but at least at a stable level! Alas, my interlocutors noted that confrontation is being stepped up. And even more interestingly: Whatever the Soviet Union and its friends do, such as reducing the scale of naval operations (not just in theory, but in practice), it always receives the same kind of judgment, along the lines of "the Soviets' perfidious tricks."

Reports come in (there is constant communication with all ships). I read some of them:

—in the Persian Gulf, the minesweeper "Rulevoy" has begun to escort the tanker "Groznyy" and the diesel ship "Znamya Oktyabrya" to the exit from the Gulf;

—the aircraft-carrier "Baku" has refueled from the "Berezina" (Mediterranean);

—the minesweepers "Svyazist" and "Motorist" have replenished their stocks of fuel, water, and fresh vegetables purchased in the Canary Islands from the tanker "Oyar Vatsiyetis" (Central Atlantic);

—the large antisubmarine ship "Marshal Shaposhnikov" picked up people (34 of them) from capsized launches and, changing course, took them to the material and technical supply station at Camranh (South China Sea);

—the truck battalion of the Black Sea Fleet has left for the harvest;

—preparations for the festive parade are completed in all fleets....

The watch draws to an end. The ritual of the change of shift is worked out in every detail, down to the fact that at the end of the morning report to the leadership of the Main Staff there is a brief review of the central newspapers, beginning with PRAVDA.

Many commanding officers of ships from various fleets told me about their collaboration with the Central Command station, speaking of it with gratitude. In view of the fact that the Central Command station is the top of a kind of pyramid of fleet command stations, one can conclude that the people working here are professionals of a high standard who have exchanged the captain's bridge (as a rule) for the operator's computer.

So I listen to the dispatches and reports, look at the indicator boards, and cannot help thinking about what is behind these figures. People at NATO and Warsaw Pact headquarters know very well who has how many armed forces and armaments. We calculate that the forces are approximately equal.

(True, that is overall. There are a number of imbalances and asymmetries, for instance, in the Pacific. There, for the information of readers, the Americans have 8 times more multipurpose nuclear submarines with cruise missiles than we do, 3 times more combat aircraft, 10 times more carrier-borne aircraft, 3 times more combat ships, 27 (!) times more marines.... The number of exercises we held in this theater last year remained at the 1986 level.

The intensity of U.S. Navy exercises and maneuvers here has increased, and, moreover, with the broad involvement of the Japanese and South Korean Navies so that they themselves could concentrate on the Okhotsk and Kamchatka salients and blockade the Soviet Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Japan. In the U.S. 7th Fleet they are building up the number of ships carrying Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles—their range is 2,500 km. At the same time there is no Soviet warship close to the Pacific coast of the United States.)

The passage in brackets is incidental. But let us ask ourselves: Is there a threat of a surprise attack from the sea, particularly in the Pacific Ocean, where the United States has, in addition to its waterborne and airborne systems, another 300 military facilities on land? There is a threat, whatever they may say. The purpose of our Pacific Fleet, on the basis of defensive doctrine, is to remove or at least reduce that threat.

When I talked with the "duty admiral" (that is still what they call the post of duty officer for the USSR Navy), Rear Admiral A. Smolin, I formed a better idea of how important it is to convey promptly and accurately the information received at the Central Command station, how seriously it influences subsequent analysis and the decisions made by the naval leadership.

"How did the duty shift go?" My question was repeated by Aleksandr Matveyevich, who graduated with distinction from the Lenin Komsomol Submarine Navigation School 33 years ago and served "unreprimanded" for 10 years on the Pacific Fleet, including 4 years as a submarine commander. "Calmly on the whole, which is admittedly rare. Thank heavens when nothing happens! Yes, the situation has relaxed a great deal recently, it has become somehow simpler. But our opponents have not given up their strategy of 'forward sea borders.' Their strategy is aggressive: constant exercises on our flanks, constant presence close to our shores, constant rehearsals of first-strike operations, and so forth. What am I driving at? That now more than ever before, the role of operational staffs has increased to one of state importance. Today a struggle of intellects, if you like, is taking place, concealed from casual eyes..."

I think the "duty admiral's" subordinates with whom I became acquainted, alas all too briefly, have tremendous support in their personal experience as commanding officers.

Captain 1st Class V. Malyarov, who served in the North, the Baltic, and the Black Sea and for 16 years on the Pacific Fleet, 14 of them as commanding officer ("When I receive a report, I always try to put myself in the place of the man who found himself in a difficult situation"). Captain 2d Class V. Peregudov, his 17 years' service—all of it in the Northern Fleet—on one large antisubmarine ship, came here in January from the post of commanding officer ("You never forget for a moment that you were a commanding officer too, that our objective is at all costs to ensure that the ship fulfills the task set"). Captain 2d Class E. Osadchiy—all his service in the Black Sea, 7 years as a commanding officer, the last 3 years at the Central Command station ("The Navy is resolving important tasks, and the attitude must be appropriate to the task").

...The posting is completed. The new shift begins. A. Smolin reports to the Central Command station chief:

"Operational watch for the Navy handed over!..."